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# Morga's Philippine Islands

Volume II

View of Mallaca – Levinus Hulsius (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1612)

[*From original in Harvard University Library*]

# HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

## From their discovery by Magellan in 1521 to the beginning of the XVII Century; with descriptions of Japan, China and adjacent countries, by


Dr. ANTONIO DE MORGA

Alcalde of Criminal Causes, in the Royal Audiencia of Nueva España, and Counsel for the Holy Office of the Inquisition


Completely translated into English, edited and annotated by

E. H. BLAIR and J. A. ROBERTSON

*With Facsimiles*


[Separate publication from "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" in which series this appears as volumes 15 and 16.]


VOLUME II

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# PREFACE

In the present volume is concluded the notable work by Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, which was begun in VOL. I. The reader is referred to the preface of that volume for some account of the book, and of the manner in which it is presented in this series.

Continuing his narrative, Morga describes his voyage to Mexico, whither he goes (1603) to be a member of the Audiencia there. He then relates the events of the Chinese uprising in Luzón in that year, which has been fully described in previous volumes of this series; and his picturesque although plain narrative casts new light upon that episode. Many Spaniards in Manila are so alarmed by this danger that they remove, with all their households and property, to Nueva España; but one of the ships carrying them is lost at sea, and the other is compelled, after great injury and loss, to return to Manila – a serious calamity for the colony there. The governor does his best to fortify the city, and reënforcements and supplies are provided for him from Nueva España. Bishop Benavides dies (1605). Friars from the islands go to Japan, but the emperor of that country is offended at their preaching, and

advises Acuña to restrain them. In the summer of 1605 arrive supplies and men from Nueva España, and Acuña proceeds with his preparations for the expedition against the Dutch in the Moluccas. In the following spring he sets out on this enterprise, conducting it in person; Morga describes this naval campaign in detail. Ternate is captured by the Spaniards without bombardment, and with little loss to themselves. The fugitive king of the island is persuaded to surrender to the Spaniards and become a vassal of Felipe. Several other petty rulers follow his example and promise not to allow the Dutch to engage in the clove trade. Acuña builds a new fort there, and another in Tidore, leaving Juan de Esquivel as governor of the Moluccas, with a garrison and several vessels for their defense, and carrying to Manila the king of Ternate and many of his nobles, as hostages. During Acuña's absence a mutiny occurs among the Japanese near Manila, which is quelled mainly by the influence of the friars. The governor dies, apparently from poison, soon after his return to Manila. The trade of the islands is injured by the restrictions laid upon it by the home government; and the reduction of Ternate has not sufficed to restrain the Moro pirates. The natives of the Moluccas are uneasy and rebellious, especially as they have a prospect of aid from the Dutch, who are endeavoring to regain their lost possessions there. Morga cites a letter from a Spanish officer at La Palma, recounting the purpose and outcome of van Noordt's expedition to the Indian archipelago.

The historical part of Morga's account ends here; and the final chapter is devoted to a description of the islands and their people, the customs and reli-

gious beliefs of the natives, and the condition at that time of the Spanish colony and the city of Manila. He describes the principal islands of the Philippine group, beginning with Luzón; the various races of inhabitants – Moros, Negritos, and Visayans: their mode of dress, their occupations and industries, their habits of life; their weapons, their ships and boats; the trees and fruits of the islands; the animals and birds, both wild and tame; the reptiles, fishes, and other creatures; and various plants. Among these is the buyo (or betel); the habit of chewing it has become universal among the Spaniards, of all classes, and poison is often administered through its medium. Various means and methods of poisoning are described, as well as some antidotes therefor. Some account is given of the gold mines and pearl fisheries, and of other products of the country which form articles of commerce. Morga describes the two great lakes of Luzón (Bombon and Bai), Manila and its harbor and approaches, and other principal ports, with some neighboring islands; and gives some account of the Visayan people and the larger islands inhabited by them, and of the tides in the archipelago. Then follows an interesting and detailed account of the Filipino peoples, their language, customs, beliefs, etc. The language used in Luzón and other northern islands is different from that of the Visayas; but all the natives write, expressing themselves fluently and correctly, and using a simple alphabet which resembles the Arabic. Their houses, and their mode of life therein, are fully described; also their government, social organization, and administration of justice. The classes and status of slaves, and the causes of enslavement are recounted.

Their customs in marriages and dowries, divorces, adoption, and inheritance are described; also in usury, trading, and punishment for crimes. The standard of social purity is described by Morga as being very low; yet infamous vices were not indigenous with them, but communicated by foreigners, especially by the Chinese. The natives of Luzón appear to be superior, both intellectually and morally, to the Visayan peoples. Their religious beliefs and practices are recounted by Morga, who naturally ascribes these to the influence of the devil. He also narrates the entrance of Mahometanism into the islands, and how it was checked by the coming of the Spaniards.

Morga next sketches the condition at that time of Spanish colonies in the islands. He describes the city of Manila in detail, with its fortifications, arsenals, government and municipal buildings, cathedral, and convents; also the seminary of Santa Potenciana, and the hospitals. There are six hundred houses, mostly built of stone, within the walls, and even more in the suburbs; "and all are the habitations and homes of Spaniards." All the people, both men and women, are clad and gorgeously adorned in silks; and nowhere is there greater abundance of food, and of other necessaries of human life, than in Manila. Morga enumerates the dignitaries, ecclesiastical and civil, who reside in the city; and mentions it as the center and metropolis of the archipelago. He then briefly describes the other Spanish settlements in the Philippines; and mentions in their turn the various orders and their work there, with the number of laborers in each. He praises their efforts for the conversion, education, and social improve-

ment of the Indians. He defines the functions of both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, and the policy of the government toward the natives; and describes the application and results in the Philippines of the encomienda system imported thither from America. He deprecates the permission given to the Indians for paying their tributes in kind or in money, at their option; for it has led to their neglecting their former industries, and thus to the general damage of the country. Slavery still exists among them, but the Spaniards have been forbidden to enslave the natives. Personal services of various sorts are due from the latter, however, to their encomenderos, to the religious, and to the king, for all of which they receive a moderate wage; and all other services for the Spaniards are voluntary and paid. Close restrictions are laid upon the intercourse of the Spaniards with natives. Various information is given regarding appointments to office, residencias, elections, town government, and finances; also of the ecclesiastical organization, expenses, and administration, as well as of the incomes of the religious orders. Morga recounts the numbers, character, pay, and organization of the military and naval forces in the islands. The bulk of the citizens are merchants and traders, commerce being the chief occupation and support of the Spanish colony. Manila is a market for all the countries of Eastern Asia, from Japan to Borneo. The China trade is restricted to the inhabitants of the Philippines; Morga describes its nature and extent, and the manner in which it is conducted, as well as the character and methods of the Chinese traders. A similar account is given of the trade carried on with the Philippines by the Japan-

ese, Borneans, and other neighboring peoples, and of the shipment to Nueva España of the goods thus procured. This last commerce is "so great and profitable, and easy to control, that the Spaniards do not apply themselves to, or engage in, any other industry," and thus not only they neglect to avail themselves of and develop the natural resources of the country, but the natives are neglecting and forgetting their former industries; and the supply of silver in the country steadily flows out of it and into the hands of infidels. Morga enumerates the officials, revenues, and expenditures of the colonial government. As its income is too small for its necessary expenses, the annual deficit is made up from the royal treasury of Nueva España. But this great expense is incurred "only for the Christianization and conversion of the natives, for the hopes of greater fruits in other kingdoms and provinces of Asia."

The large extent of the Chinese immigration to the islands is disapproved by Morga, as unsafe to the Spaniards and injurious to the natives. Some Chinese are needed for the service of the Spaniards, for all the trades are carried on by them; but the number of Chinese allowed to live in the islands should be restricted to those who are thus needed. Morga describes the character, dress, mode of life, and settlements of the Chinese near Manila; they are cared for in religious matters by the Dominican friars. The Christian Chinese live apart from the heathens, in a settlement of some five hundred people; Morga has but a poor opinion of even these converts. Some account is also given of the Japanese who have settled in Manila; Morga commends them, and states that they prove to be good Christians.

He ends his work by a detailed account of the navigation and voyage to and from the Philippines. The Mexican port of departure for this route has been removed from Navidad to Acapulco. Morga describes the westward voyage; the stop at the Ladrone Islands, and the traffic of the natives with the ships; and the route thence, and among the Philippine Islands. The return route to Mexico is much more difficult and dangerous; for the winds are varying and not always favorable, and the ship must change its course more frequently, and go far north to secure favoring winds, there encountering cold weather. These severe changes cause much suffering, and even death; and the vessel makes this voyage without once touching land until it reaches Acapulco, a period of five or six months. Morga also describes the voyage to Spain by way of Goa and the Cape of Good Hope, which also is long and dangerous.

THE EDITORS

January, 1907.

# SUCESOS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS

(*concluded*)

By Dr. Antonio de Morga. Mexico: at the shop of Geronymo Balli in the year 1609; printed by Cornelio Adriano Cesar.

SOURCE: The translation is made from the Harvard copy of the original printed work.

TRANSLATION: This is made by Alfonso de Salvio, Norman F. Hall, and James Alexander Robertson.

# EVENTS IN THE FILIPINAS ISLANDS.[1]

## CHAPTER SEVENTH (concluded)

On the tenth [of July][2] of the same year, the vessels "Espiritu-Santo" and "Jesus Maria" left the port of Cabit en route for Nueva España – in the wake of two smaller vessels, which had been despatched a fortnight before – with the Filipinas merchandise. Don Lope de Ulloa was their commander, while Doctor Antonio de Morga left those islands in the almiranta, the "Santo Espiritu," to fill the office of alcalde of the court of Mexico. Before leaving the bay, both vessels were struck head on by a storm, and went dragging upon the coast, buffeted by the heavy seas and winds, and amid dark and tempestuous weather, from three in the afternoon until morn-

[1] Following in a translation of the title-page of the other edition of Morga's work, which shows that a second edition of the *Sucesos* was published in the same year as was the first. A reduced facsimile of this title-page – from the facsimile reproduction in the Zaragoza edition (Madrid, 1887) – forms the frontispiece to the present volume. It reads thus: "Events in the Philipinas Islands: addressed to Don Christoval Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, duke de Cea, by Doctor Antonio de Morga, alcalde of criminal causes in the royal Audiencia of Nueva España, and consultor for the Holy Office of the Inquisition. At Mexico in the Indias, in the year 1609." In the lower left-hand corner of the engraved title appears the engraver's name: "Samuel Estradanus, of Antwerp, made this."

[2] The month is omitted in the text.– STANLEY.

ing of the next day, notwithstanding that they were anchored with two heavy cables in the shelter of the land, and their topmasts struck. Then they grounded upon the coast, in La Pampanga, ten leguas from Manila. The storm lasted for three more consecutive days. Consequently it was regarded as impossible for those vessels to sail and make their voyage, inasmuch as the season was now well advanced, and the vessels were very large and heavily laden, and were deeply imbedded in the sand. Advice was immediately sent overland to Manila, whence were brought several Chinese ships, cables, and anchors. By dint of the great efforts exerted, both vessels, each singly, were fitted with tackle and cables, which were rigged at the stern. There awaiting the high tide, the ships were drawn, by force of capstan and men, stern first for more than one legua through a bank of sand, upon which they had struck, until they were set afloat, on the twenty-second of July, St. Magdelen's day. Immediately they set sail again, as the vessels had sustained no injury, nor sprung any leak; and they made their voyage and navigation, under light winds, to the coast of Nueva España. A violent south-southwest gale, accompanied by heavy showers, hail, and cold, struck the ship " Espiritu Sancto " on the tenth of November, in forty-two degrees, and within sight of land. The wind was blowing obliquely toward the shore, upon which the vessel was almost wrecked several times. The vessel suffered distress and lost its rigging, while the crew was worn out by the voyage and with the cold. The storm lasted until November twenty-second. On the morning of that day, while the ship was in the trough of the waves, and with topmasts shipped, it was struck by a squall of rain and

hail, accompanied by great darkness. A thunderbolt, descending the mainmast, struck the vessel amidships. It killed three men besides wounding and maiming eight others; it had entered the hatches, and torn open the mainhatch, with a blaze of light, so that the interior of the ship could be seen. Another thunderbolt fell down along the same mast among the entire crew, and stunned sixteen persons, some of whom were speechless and unconscious all that day. It left the vessel by the pump-dale. The next day, the wind veered to north-northeast, whereupon the ship set sail, and went coasting along the land, with sufficient winds until the nineteenth of the month of December, when it made port at Acapulco. There were found the two smaller vessels that had sailed first from Manila. Three days later, General Don Lope de Ulloa entered the same port of Acapulco, in the ship "Jesus Maria." That vessel had sustained the same storms as the ship "Espiritu Sancto." From the time when the two vessels had separated, on sailing out of the channel of Capul, in the Filipinas Islands, they had not sighted one another again during the entire voyage.

In the same year six hundred and three, Governor Don Pedro de Acuña sent the ship "Sanctiago" from Manila to Japon, with merchandise. It was ordered to make its voyage to Quanto, in order to comply with the desire and wish of Daifusama. As news had been already received of the death of Fray Geronimo de Jesus, four of the most important religious of his order in Manila – namely, Fray Diego de Bermeo [2*]

[2*] Fray Diego Bermeo, a native of Toledo, became a Franciscan friar; and in 1580 went to Mexico, and three years later to the Philippines. After spending many years as a missionary in Luzón

(who had been provincial), Fray Alonso de la Madre de Dios, Fray Luys Sotello,[3] and one other associate – sailed on that vessel for the said kingdom.

As soon as the ships "Jesus Maria" and "Espiritu Sancto" sailed for Nueva España, and the ship "Sanctiago" with the religious for Japon, there was more time to discuss further the matter started by the coming of the Chinese mandarins. For finding themselves unoccupied with other matters, fear of the Sangleys became universal, and the suspicions that were current that the Sangleys were about to commit some mischievous outbreak. This the archbishop and some religious affirmed and told, publicly and privately. At this time, a considerable number of Chinese were living in Manila and its environs. Some of them were baptized Christians living in the settlements of Baibai and Minondoc,[4] on the other

and Mindoro, he was elected provincial of his order in the islands (in 1599, and again in 1608). Going to Japan as commissary provincial – in 1603, according to Morga, but 1604 as given by Huerta (*Estado*, p. 446) – he was obliged by severe illness to return to Manila; he died there on December 12, 1609.

[3] Luis Sotelo, belonging to an illustrious family of Sevilla, made his profession as a Franciscan in 1594. Joining the Philippine mission, he reached the islands in 1600; and he spent the next two years in ministering to the Japanese near Manila, and in the study of their language. In 1603 he went to Japan, where he zealously engaged in missionary labors. Ten years later, he was sentenced to death for preaching the Christian religion; but was freed from this danger by Mazamune, king of Boxu, who sent the Franciscan as his ambassador to Rome and Madrid. Returning from this mission, Sotelo arrived in the Philippines in 1618, and four years later resumed his missionary labors in Japan. In 1622 he was again imprisoned for preaching, and was confined at Omura for two years, during which time he wrote several works, in both the Spanish and Japanese languages. Sotelo was finally burned at the stake in Omura, August 25, 1624. See Huerta's *Estado*, pp. 392-394.

[4] The present towns of San Nicolás, San Fernando, etc., lying between Binondo and the sea.– RIZAL.

side of the river, opposite the city. Most of them were infidels, occupied and living in these same settlements and in the shops of the parián in the city; [they were employed] as merchants and in all other occupations. The majority of them were fishermen, stonecutters, charcoal-burners, porters, masons, and day-laborers. Greater security was always felt in regard to the merchants, for they are the better class of people, and those who are most interested, because of their property. So great security was not felt about the others, even though they were Christians; because, as they are a poor and covetous people, they would be inclined to any act of meanness. However, it was always thought that it would be difficult for them to cause any commotion, unless a strong fleet came from China, on which they could rely. Talk continued to increase daily, and with it suspicion; for some of the Chinese themselves, both infidels and Christians, in order to prove themselves friends of the Spaniards, and clean from all guilt, even told the Spaniards that there was to be an insurrection shortly, and other similar things. Although the governor always considered these statements as fictions and the exaggerations of that nation, and did not credit them, yet he was not so heedless that he did not act cautiously and watch, although with dissembling, for whatever might happen. He took pains to have the city guarded and the soldiers armed, besides flattering the most prominent of the Chinese and the merchants, whom he assured of their lives and property. The natives of La Pampanga and other provinces near by were instructed beforehand to supply the city with rice and other provisions, and to come to reënforce it with

their persons and arms, should necessity arise. The same was done with some Japanese in the city. As all this was done with some publicity, since it could not be done secretly, as so many were concerned, one and all became convinced of the certainty of the danger. Many even desired it, in order to see the peace disturbed, and to have the opportunity to seize something.[5] From that time, both in the city and its environs, where the Sangleys were living scattered, these people began to persecute the Sangleys by word and deed. The natives, Japanese and soldiers of the camp took from them their possessions and inflicted on them other ill-treatment, calling them dogs and traitors, and saying that they knew well that they meant to rebel. But they said they would kill all the Sangleys first, and that very soon, for the governor was preparing for it. This alone was sufficient to make it necessary for the Sangleys to do what they had no intention of doing.[6] Some of the most clever and covetous set themselves to rouse the courage of the others, and to make themselves leaders, telling the Sangleys that their destruction was sure, according to the determination which they saw in the Spaniards, unless they should anticipate the latter, since they [the Sangleys] were so numerous, and attack and capture the city. They said that it would not be difficult for them to kill the Spaniards, seize their

[5] This remark of Morga can be applied to many other insurrections that occurred later – not only of Chinese, but also of natives – and probably even to many others which, in the course of time, will be contrived.– RIZAL.

[6] These devices, of which certain persons always avail themselves to cause a country to rebel, are the most efficacious to bring such movements to a head. "If thou wishest thy neighbor's dog to become mad, publish that it is mad," says an old refrain.– RIZAL.

possessions, and become masters of the country, with the aid and reënforcements that would immediately come to them from China, as soon as the auspicious beginning that they would have made in the matter should be known. In order to do this when the time came, it was advisable to build a fort and quarters in some retired and strong place near the city, where the people could gather and unite, and where arms and supplies could be provided for the war. At least such a fort would be sufficient to assure there their lives from the outrages that they were expecting from the Spaniards. It was learned that the chief mover in this matter was a Christian Sangley, an old-time resident in the country, named Joan Bautista de Vera.[7] He was rich and highly esteemed by the Spaniards, and feared and respected by the Sangleys. He had often been governor of the latter, and had many godchildren and dependents. He had become an excellent Spaniard, and was courageous. He himself, exercising duplicity and cunning, did not leave the city, or the houses of the Spanish during this time, in order to arouse less suspicion of himself. From there he managed the affair through his confidants; and in order to assure himself better of the result, and to ascertain the number of men of his race, and to make a census and list of them, he cunningly had each of them ordered to bring him a needle, which he pretended to be necessary for a certain work that he had to do. These needles he placed, as he received them, in a little box; and when he took them out of it, he found that he had sufficient men for his purpose. They began to construct the fort or quarters imme-

[7] This is the famous Eng-Kang of the histories of Filipinas.—RIZAL.

diately at a distance of slightly more than one legua from the village of Tondo, among some estuaries and swamps, and in a hidden location.[8] They stored there some rice and other provisions, and weapons of little importance. The Sangleys began to gather there, especially the masses – the common people and day-laborers; for those of the parián, and the mechanics, although urged to do the same, did not resolve to do it, and remained quiet, guarding their houses and property. The restlessness of the Sangleys daily continued to become more inflamed. This, and the advices given to the governor and the Spaniards, kept the latter more anxious and apprehensive, and made them talk more openly of the matter. The Sangleys, seeing that their intention was discovered, and that delay might be of so great harm to them, determined, although the insurrection was planned for St. Andrew's day, the last of November, to anticipate that day, and to lose no more time. On Friday, the third day of the month of October, the eve of St. Francis, they collected very hurriedly in the above-mentioned fort; consequently, by nightfall, there were two thousand men in it. Joan Bautista de Vera – a thief in the rôle of an honest man, since he was the leader and organizer of the treason – went immediately to the city and told the governor that the Sangleys had risen, and that they were collecting on the other side of the river. The governor, suspecting the mischief, had him immediately arrested and carefully guarded; and he was afterward

[8] The Rizal edition of Morga omits the last part of this sentence, the original of which is "*entre vnos esteros y cienagas, lugar escondido.*"

sounded. Then, without tap of drum, the governor ordered the companies, both of the camp and the city, to be notified, and all to hold their arms in readiness. Very shortly after nightfall, Don Luys Dasmariñas, who was living near the monastery and church of Minondoc, on the other side of the river, came hurriedly to the city to advise the governor that the Sangleys had revolted. He asked for twenty soldiers to go to the other side [of the river], where he would guard the said monastery. Cristoval de Axqueta, sargento-mayor of the camp, went with these men, together with Don Luys. As the silence of night deepened, the noise made by the Sangleys grew louder, for they were continuing to assemble and were sounding horns and other instruments, after their fashion. Don Luys remained to guard the monastery, with the men brought from Manila, where he had placed in shelter many women and children of Christian Sangleys, with the religious. The sargento-mayor returned immediately to the city, where he told of what was being done. The call to arms was sounded, for the noise and shouts of the Sangleys, who had sallied out to set fire to some houses in the country, was so great that it was thought that they were devastating that district. The Sangleys burned, first, a stone country-house belonging to Captain Estevan de Marquina. The latter was living there with his wife and children; and none of them escaped, except a little girl, who was wounded, but who was hidden in a thicket.[9] Thence the San-

[9] "The Chinese killed father Fray Bernardo de Santo Catalina, agent of the holy office, of the order of St. Dominic. . . . They attacked Quiapo, and after killing about twenty people, set fire to it. Among these they burned alive a woman of rank, and a boy."– RIZAL. This citation is made from Leonardo de Argen-

gleys went to the settlement of Laguio,[10] situated on the shore of the river, and burned it. They killed several Indians of that settlement, and the rest fled to the city. There the gates were already shut and all the people, with arms in hand, manned the walls and other suitable posts, ready for any emergency, until dawn. The enemy, who now had a greater number of men, retired to their fort, to make another sally thence with more force. Don Luys Dasmariñas, who was guarding the church and monastery of Minondoc, expected hourly that the enemy was about to attack him, and sent a messenger to the governor to beg for more men. These were sent him, and consisted of regulars and inhabitants of the city, under Captains Don Tomas Brabo de Acuña (the governor's nephew), Joan de Alcega, Pedro de Arzeo, and Gaspar Perez, by whose counsel and advice Don Luys was to be guided on this occasion. All was confusion, shouting, and outcry in the city, particularly among the Indians, and the women and children, who were coming thither for safety. Although, to make certain of the Sangleys of the parián, their merchants had been asked to come into the city, and bring their property, they did not dare to do so; for they always thought that the enemy would take the city because of their great force of numbers, and an-

sola's *Conquistas de las Molucas* (Madrid, 1609), a synopsis of which will follow Morga's work.

[10] We are unaware of the exact location of this settlement of Laguio. It is probably the present village of Kiapo, which agrees with the text and is mentioned by Argensola. Nevertheless, from the description of this settlement given by Morga (*post*, chapter viii) and Chirino, it can be inferred that Laguio was located on the present site of the suburb of La Concepción. In fact, there is even a street called Laguio between Malate and La Ermita.—Rizal.

nihilate the Spaniards, and they would all be in danger. Consequently they preferred to remain in their parián, in order to join the victorious side. Don Luys Dasmariñas thought it advisable to go in search of the enemy immediately with the reenforcements sent him by the governor, before they should all assemble and present a strong front. He left seventy soldiers in Minondoc, in charge of Gaspar Perez; while with the rest, about one hundred and forty of the best picked arquebusiers, he went to the village of Tondo, in order to fortify himself in the church, a stone building. He arrived there at eleven o'clock in the morning. The Chinese, in number one thousand five hundred, arrived at the same place at the same time, bent on the same purpose. An hour's skirmish took place between the two sides, as to which one would gain the monastery. Captain Gaspar Perez came up with the reënforcement of the men left at Minondoc. The enemy retired to his fort, with a loss of five hundred men. Gaspar Perez returned to his post, where Pedro de Arzeo was also stationed. Don Luys Dasmariñas, exultant over this fortunate engagement, determined immediately to press forward in pursuit of the enemy with his men, notwithstanding the heat of the sun and without waiting to rest his followers. He sent Alferez Luys de Ybarren to reconnoiter. The latter brought word that the enemy was in great force, and near by. Although Juan de Alcega and others requested Don Luys to halt and rest his men, and await the governor's orders as to what was to be done, his desire not to lose the opportunity was so great that, rousing his men with harsh words, in order to make them follow him, he marched forward until they

reached a swamp. After leaving the swamp, they came suddenly into a large clearing, where the enemy was stationed. The latter, upon seeing the Spaniards, surrounded them in force on all sides, armed with clubs, some with catans, and a few with battle-axes. Don Luys and his men, not being able to retreat, fought valiantly, and killed a number of Sangleys. But finally, as the latter were in so great force, they cut all the Spaniards to pieces, only four of whom escaped, badly wounded; and these carried the news to Manila.[11] This result was of great importance to the Sangleys, both because so many and the best Spanish soldiers were killed in this place, and because of the weapons that the Sangleys took from them, and which they needed. With these arms they flattered themselves that their object was more certain of accomplishment. Next day, October five, the Sangleys sent the heads of Don Luys, Don Tomas, Joan de Alcega, and other captains to the parián; and they told the Sangleys there that, since the flower of Manila had been killed, they should revolt and join them, or they would immediately come to kill them. The confusion and grief of the Spaniards in the city was so great that it prevented them from taking the precautions and exercising the diligence demanded by the affair. But the sight of their necessity, and the spirit of their governor and officials made them all remain at their posts on the walls, arms in hand. They fortified as strongly as possible the gates of the parián and of Dilao, and all that part of the wall where the enemy might make an assault. They

[11] "Fine helmets were found broken in with clubs. . . . . About thirty also escaped (among whom was Father Farfan), who were enabled to do so because of being in the rear, and lightly armed" (Argensola).– Rizal.

mounted a piece of artillery above each gate, and stationed there the best men, among whom were religious of all the orders. Upon that day, Sunday, the enemy, flushed with the victory of the preceding day and their army swelled by the additional men that joined them, attacked the city. Burning and destroying everything in their path, they went to the river, for there was no vessel with which to resist them, as all those of the fleet were in the provinces of the Pintados. They entered the parián,[12] and furiously assaulted the city gate, but were driven back by the arquebuses and muskets, with the loss of many Sangleys. They went to the church of Dilao, and there assaulted the gate and walls (which were there lower), by means of scaling-ladders, with the same determination. But they experienced the same resistance and loss, which compelled them, on the approach of night, to retire with great loss to the parián and to Dilao. That whole night the Spaniards spent in guarding their wall, and in preparing for the morrow. The enemy passed the night in the parián and at Dilao, making carts, mantelets, scalding-ladders, artificial fire, and other contrivances, for approaching and assaulting the wall, and for burning the gates, and setting fire to everything. At dawn of the next day, Monday, the Sangleys came together with these arms and tools, and having reached the wall with their bravest and best-armed men, attacked it with great fury and resolution. The artillery destroyed their machines, and

[12] Argensola says that the Chinese killed many peaceful merchants in the parián, while others hanged themselves of their own accord. Among these Argensola mentions General Hontay and the rich Chican – according to the relation of Fray Juan Pobre, because the latter had refused to place the famous Eng-Kang at the head of the movement.– RIZAL.

caused them so great injury and resistance with it and the arquebuses, that the Sangleys were forced to retire again to the parián and to Dilao, with heavy loss. Joan Xuarez Gallinato, accompanied by some soldiers and a Japanese troop, made a sally from the Dilao gate upon the Sangleys. They reached the church, when the Sangleys turned upon them and threw the Japanese into disorder. The latter were the cause of all retreating again to seek the protection of the walls, whither the Sangleys pursued them. At this juncture Captain Don Luys de Velasco entered Manila. He came from the Pintados in a stout caracoa, manned by some good arquebusiers, while others manned some bancas that sailed in the shelter of the caracoa. They approached the parián and Dilao by the river, and harassed the enemy quartered there on that and the two following days, so that they were compelled to abandon those positions. These vessels set fire to the parián, and burned everything, and pursued the enemy wherever they could penetrate. The Sangleys, upon beholding their cause waning, and their inability to attain the end desired, resolved to retire from the city, after having lost more than four thousand men; to advise China, so that that country would reënforce them; and for their support to divide their men into three divisions in different districts – one among the Tingues of Passic, the second among those of Ayonbon, and the third at La Laguna de Bay, San Pablo, and Batangas. On Wednesday they abandoned the city completely, and, divided as above stated, marched inland. Don Luys de Velasco, with some soldiers and armed Indians who came from all sides to the relief of Manila, accompanied by some Spaniards who guided them, and the religious from

their missions, went by way of the river in pursuit of them, and pressed them, so that they killed and annihilated the bands bound for the Tingues of Passic and for Ayombon. The majority and main body of the Sangleys went to La Laguna de Bay, the mountains of San Pablo, and Batangas, where they considered themselves more secure. Burning towns and churches, and everything in their path, they fortified themselves in the above-mentioned sites. Don Luys de Velasco, with seventy soldiers, continued to pursue them, killing each day a great number of them. On one occasion Don Luys was so closely engaged with the enemy, that the latter killed him and ten soldiers of his company, and fortified themselves again in San Pablo and Batangas, where they hoped to be able to sustain themselves until the arrival of reënforcements from China.[13]

The governor, fearful of this danger, and desirous of finishing the enemy, and giving entire peace to the country, sent Captain and Sargento-mayor Cristoval de Axqueta Menchaca with soldiers to pursue and finish the enemy. This man left with two hundred Spaniards – soldiers and volunteers – three hundred Japanese, and one thousand five hundred Pampanga and Tagál Indians,[14] on the twentieth of October. He was so expeditious, that with little or no loss of men, he found the Sangleys fortified in San

[13] "And they tried to persuade the natives to unite with them; but the latter refused, and on the contrary killed as many of the Sangleys as they caught" (Argensola).– RIZAL.

[14] Argensola says that "four thousand Pampangos, armed in the custom of their country, with bows and arrows, half-pikes, shields, and long broad daggers," were sent by the alcalde of Pampanga to the relief of Manila, which now needed soldiers.– RIZAL.

Pablo and Batangas, and, after fighting with them, killed and destroyed them all. None escaped, except two hundred, who were taken alive to Manila for the galleys. The captain was occupied in this for twenty days, and with it the war was ended. Very few merchants were left in Manila, and they had taken the good counsel to betake themselves, with their possessions, among the Spaniards in the city. At the beginning of the war there were not seven hundred Spaniards in the city capable of bearing arms.[15]

After the end of the war, the need of the city began, for, because of not having Sangleys who worked at the trades, and brought in all the provisions, there was no food, nor any shoes to wear, not even at excessive prices. The native Indians are very far from exercising those trades, and have even forgotten

[15] In this struggle many cruelties were committed and many quiet and friendly Chinese killed. Don Pedro de Acuña, who could not prevent or stifle this terrible insurrection in its beginnings, also contributed to the horrible butcheries that ensued. "Accordingly many Spaniards and natives went to hunt the disbanded Sangleys, at Don Pedro's order." Hernando de Avalos, alcalde of La Pampanga, seized more than 400 pacific Sangleys, "and leading them to an estuary, manacled two and two, delivered them to certain Japanese, who killed them. Father Fray Diego de Guevara of the order of St. Augustine, prior of Manila, who made this relation, preached to the Sangleys first, but only five abandoned their idolatry." . . . Would he not have done better to preach to Alcalde Avalos, and to remind him that he was a man? The Spanish historians say that the Japanese and Filipinos showed themselves cruel in the killing of the Chinese. It is quite probable, considering the rancor and hate with which they were regarded. But their commanders contributed to it also by their example. It is said that more than 23,000 Chinese were killed. "Some assert that the number of Sangleys killed was greater, but in order that the illegality committed in allowing so many to enter the country contrary to the royal prohibitions might not be known, the officials covered up or diminished the number of those who perished" (Argensola).—Rizal.

much of farming, and the raising of fowls, cattle, and cotton, and the weaving of cloth, which they used to do in the days of their paganism and for a long time after the conquest of the country.[16] In addition to this, people thought that Chinese vessels would not come to the islands with food and merchandise, on account of the late revolution. Above all, they lived not without fear and suspicion that, instead of the merchant vessels, an armed fleet would attack Manila, in order to avenge the death of their Sangleys. All conspired to sadden the minds of the Spaniards. After having sent Fray Diego de Guevara, prior of the monastery of St. Augustine in Manila, to the court of España by way of India, with news of this event – but who was unable to reach Madrid for three years, because of his various fortunes in India, Persia, and Italia, through which countries he went – they immediately sent Captain Marco de la Cueva, together with Fray Luys Gandullo of the Order of St. Dominic, to the city of

[16] The coming of the Spaniards to the Filipinas, and their government, together with the immigration of the Chinese, killed the industry and agriculture of the country. The terrible competition of the Chinese with any individual of another race is well known, for which reason the United States and Australia refuse to admit them. The indolence, then, of the inhabitants of the Filipinas, is derived from the lack of foresight of the government. Argensola says the same thing, and could not have copied Morga, since their works were published in the same year, in countries very distant from one another, and the two contain wide differences.– RIZAL.

The Chinese question has always been of great importance in the Philippines. The dislike of the Filipino for the Chinese seemed instinctive and was deep-rooted. The subject of the Chinese immigration to the islands has served for special legislation on many occasions in Spain, but they have nevertheless persisted in their trading and occupations therein. See Stanley's edition of Morga, appendix II, pp. 363-368; and *Los Chinos en Filipinos* (Manila, 1886).

Macao in China, where the Portuguese were living, with letters for the chief captain and the council of that city. These letters advised the latter of the revolt of the Sangleys, and of the result of the war, so that, if they should hear any rumors of a Chinese fleet, they could send word. At the same time letters were taken from the governor to the Tutons, Aytaos, and visitors of the provinces of Canton and Chincheo, recounting the outbreak of the Chinese, which obliged the Spaniards to kill them. Upon their arrival at Macao, Marcos de la Cueva and Fray Luys Gandullo found no news of a fleet, but that everything was quiet – although the Chinese had already heard of the insurrection and much of the result, from some Sangleys who had fled from Manila in champans, upon that occasion. It was immediately learned in Chincheo that these Spaniards were in Macao, whereupon Captains Guansan Sinu and Guachan, wealthy men and usually engaged in trade with Manila, went to look for them. Having learned the truth of the event, they took the letters for the mandarins and promised to deliver them. They urged other merchants and vessels of Chincheo, who were afraid, to go to Manila that year. This was very useful, for through them much of the necessity that the city [of Manila] was suffering was supplied. With this result and with some powder, saltpeter, and lead which Marcos de la Cueva had provided for the magazines, the latter left Macao, and sailed to Manila, which he reached in May, to the universal joy of the city over the news that he brought – which began to be verified immediately by the coming of the fleet of thirteen Chinese vessels bearing food and merchandise.

In the month of June of this year six hundred and three,[17] two vessels were despatched from Manila to Nueva España, under command of Don Diego de Mendoça who had been sent that year by the viceroy, Marques de Montesclaros, with the usual reënforcements for the islands. The flagship was "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios" and the almiranta "Sant Antonio."

Many rich men of Manila, warned by the past troubles, took passage in these vessels with their households and property, for Nueva España – especially in the almiranta – with the greatest wealth that has ever left the Filipinas. Both vessels experienced so severe storms during the voyage, in the altitude of thirty-four degrees, and before having passed Japon, that the flagship, without masts and greatly lightened and damaged, put back in distress to Manila. The almiranta was swallowed up in the sea, and no one was saved. This was one of the greatest shipwrecks and calamities that the Filipinas have suffered since the past ones.

During the rest of that year and that of six hundred and five, until the sailing of the vessels which were to go to Castilla,[18] the governor occupied himself in repairing the city, and supplying it with provisions and ammunition, with the special object and care that the decision which he was awaiting from the court for making an expedition to Maluco – of which he had been advised and warned – should not find him so unprepared as to cause him to delay the expedition. In this he was very successful, for at that same time, the master-of-camp, Joan de Esqui-

[17] This should be six hundred and four.– RIZAL.

[18] Nueva España.– RIZAL.

vel, had arrived in Mexico with six hundred soldiers from España. In Mexico more men were being enrolled, and a great preparation was made of ammunition, food, money, and arms, which the viceroy sent to the governor from Nueva España in March of that year, by order of his Majesty, in order that he might go to Maluco. All this arrived safely and in due season at Manila.

Shortly after the ships had left Manila for Nueva España, and those despatched thence by the viceroy had entered, Archbishop Don Fray Miguel de Benavides died of a long illness. His body was buried amid the universal devotion and grief of the city.[19] At this same time, Don Pedro de Acuña received three letters, by the ships that continued to come from China that year, with the merchandise and with their principal captains. They were all of the same tenor – when translated into Castilian – from the Tuton and Haytao, and from the inspector-general of the province of Chincheo, and were on the matter of the insurrection of the Sangleys and their punishment. They were as follows:

[This letter occupies folios 113b – 115a of the original edition of Morga. We have already presented that document in our VOL. XIII, p. 287, which is translated from a copy of the original manuscript. The answer of Acuña to this letter will be found in VOL. XIV, in the second document of that volume.]

The letter of the inspector-general was written on the twelfth of the second month – which according to our reckoning is March of the twenty-third year

[19] This archbishop seems to have been a principal cause of the disturbance and massacre of the Chinese, by taking a leading part in exciting suspicion against them.– STANLEY.

of the reign of Vandel [*i.e.*, Wanleh]. The eunuch's [20] letter was written on the sixteenth of the said month and year; and that of the viceroy, on the twenty-second of the month.

The governor answered these letters through the same messengers, civilly and authoritatively. He gave an explanation of the deed and justified the Spaniards, and offered friendship and trade anew with the Chinese. He said that their property, which had remained in Manila, would be restored to the owners, and that those imprisoned in the galleys would be freed in due season. First, however, he intended to use them for the Maluco expedition, which he was undertaking.

The entrances into various provinces of Japon by the discalced religious of St. Francis and those of St. Dominic and St. Augustine, continued to be made, both in the Castilian vessel itself which was despatched that year to the kingdoms of Quanto,[21] and in other Japanese vessels which came to Manila with the silver and flour of the Japanese, in order to trade. This was permitted and allowed by Daifu, now

[20] The Arab travelers of the ninth century mention that eunuchs were employed in China, especially for the collection of the revenue, and that they were called *thoucam*.– STANLEY.

[21] " In earlier times a barrier, which ran from Osaka to the border of Yamato and Omi, separated the thirty-three western from the thirty-three eastern provinces. The former were collectively entitled Kuwansei (pronounce Kánsé), *i.e.*, westward of the Gate; the latter Kuwantô (pronounce Kántô), *i.e.*, eastward of the Gate. Later, however, when under the Tokugawa régime the passes leading to the plain in which Yedo, the new capital of Shôgune, grew up were carefully guarded; by the Gate (Kuwan) was understood the great guard on the Hakone Pass, and Kuwantô or Kuwantô-Hashiu, the eight provinces east of it: Sagami, Musashi, Kôtsuke, Shimotsuke, Hitachi, Shimosa, Katsusa, and Awa." Thus defined by Rein, in his *Japan*, p. 11. Cf. Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, p. 68, note.

called Cubosama, who that year sent the governor, through one of his servants, certain weapons and presents, in return for others which the governor had sent him. He answered the latter's letter as follows:

*Letter from Daifusama, lord of Japon, to governor Don Pedro de Acuña, in the year one thousand six hundred and five.*

I received two letters from your Lordship, and all the gifts and presents mentioned in the memorandum. Among them, when I received them, the wine made from grapes pleased me greatly. During former years, your Lordship requested permission for six vessels, and last year for four, and I always granted your request. But, what angers me greatly is that among the four vessels that your Lordship requested was that one called "Antonio," which made the voyage without my orders. This was a very lawless act, and in contempt of me. Can it be, perhaps, that your Lordship would send to Japon without my permission any vessel that you wished? Besides this, your Lordship and others have often negotiated about the sects of Japon, and requested many things in regard to them. This likewise I cannot concede; for this region is called Xincoco [Shinkoku], or "dedicated to the idols." These have been honored with the highest adoration from the time of our ancestors until now, and their acts I alone cannot undo or destroy. Consequently, it is not at all advisable that your religion be promulgated or preached in Japon; and if your Lordship wish to preserve friendship with these kingdoms of Japon and with me, do what I wish, and never do what is displeasing to me. Lastly, many have told me that many wicked and perverse

Japanese, who go to that kingdom and live there for many years, afterward return to Japon. This makes me very angry. Consequently, your Lordship will, in the future, allow no one of the Japanese to come here in the vessels that come from your country. In other matters, your Lordship shall act advisedly and prudently, and shall so conduct affairs, that henceforth I may not be angered on account of them.

The governor, carrying out his dearest wish, was to make the expedition to Terrenate in the Malucos, which should be done quickly, before the enemy could gather more strength than he had then; for he had been informed that the Dutch, who had seized the island and fortress of Amboino, had done the same with that of Tidore, whence they had driven the Portuguese who had settled therein, and had entered Terrenate, where they had established a trading-post for the clove-trade. Accordingly, as soon as the despatches in regard to this undertaking arrived from España, in June of six hundred and five, and the men and supplies from Nueva España, which were brought at the same time by the master-of-camp, Joan de Esquivel, the governor spent the balance of this year in preparing the ships, men, and provisions that he deemed necessary for the undertaking. Leaving behind in Manila sufficient force for its defense, he went to the provinces of Pintados, where the fleet was collected, in the beginning of the year six hundred and six.

By the fifteenth day of the month of March, the governor had thoroughly prepared the fleet – which consisted of five ships, four galleys with poop-lanterns [*galeras de fanal*], three galliots, four cham-

pans, three funeas, two English lanchas, two brigantines, one barca chata [22] for the artillery, and thirteen fragatas with high freeboard. There were one thousand three hundred Spaniards, counting regulars, captains and officers, substitutes [*entretenidos*], and volunteers. Among them were some Portuguese captains and soldiers, under charge of the chief captain of Tidore,[23] who was at that island when the Dutch seized it. These Portuguese came from Malaca to serve in the expedition. There were also four hundred Indian pioneers – Tagáls and Pampangos of Manila – who went to serve at their own cost, under their own officers, and with their own weapons. There was a quantity of artillery of all kinds, ammunition, tools, and provisions for nine months.[24] Don Pedro de Acuña left the point of Hilohilo, which is near the town of Arevalo in the island of Panai, [on the above day] with all this equipment, and coasting the island of Mindanao, made port at La Caldera, in order to replenish his water, wood, and other necessaries.

The governor embarked in the galley "Santiago" and took under his charge the other galleys and oared

[22] A flat-bottomed boat, capable of carrying heavy loads.

[23] Pedro Alvarez de Abreu.– Rizal.

[24] According to Argensola, who gives a succinct relation of this expedition, the number engaged in it were as follows: Spaniards and their officers, 1,423; Pampangos and Tagáls (without their chiefs), 344; *idem*, for maritime and military service, 620; rowers, 649; Indian chiefs, 5; total 3,041. But he adds that all those of the fleet, exclusive of the general's household and followers, numbered 3,095. Probably the 54 lacking in the above number were the Portuguese under command of Abreu and Camelo, although Argensola does not mention Portuguese soldiers. . . . The names of the Indian chiefs attending the expedition at their own cost were: Don Guillermo (Palaot), master-

vessels. The ship "Jesus Maria" acted as flagship of the other vessels, and was commanded by the master-of-camp, Joan de Esquivel. Captain and Sargento-mayor Cristoval de Azcueta Menchaca acted as admiral of the fleet, which, after attending to its necessities at La Caldera, left that port. On setting sail, the flagship, which was a heavy vessel, was unable to leave port, and the currents drove it shoreward so that, without the others being able to help it, it grounded. It was wrecked there, but the crew, artillery, and a portion of its ammunition and clothing, were saved. After setting fire to the ship, and taking what nails and bolts they could, so that the Mindanaos could not make use of them, the fleet continued its voyage. The galleys coasted along the island of Mindanao, and the ships and other deep-draught vessels sailed in the open sea, all making for the port of Talangame, in the island of Terrenate. The vessels, although experiencing some changes of weather, first sighted the islands of Maluco, after they had been reconnoitered by a large Dutch ship, well equipped with artillery, which was anchored at Terrenate. This vessel fired some heavy artillery at our vessels, and then immediately entered the port, where it fortified itself under shelter of the land, and with its artillery and crew and the people of Terrenate. The master-of-camp went with his vessels to the island of Tidore, where he was well received by the Moro chiefs and cachils; for the king was away, as he had gone to the island of Bachan to be married.

of-camp; and Captains Don Francisco Palaot, Don Juan Lit, Don Luis Lont, and Don Agustin Lont. These must have behaved exceedingly well, for after the assault on Ternate, Argensola says: "Not a person of consideration among the Spaniards or the Indians remained unwounded."—RIZAL.

The master-of-camp found four Dutch factors there, who were trading for cloves. He learned from them that the ship at Terrenate was from Holland, and was one of those which had sailed from Amboino and seized Tidore, whence it had driven the Portuguese, and that it was being laden with cloves. It was awaiting other vessels of its convoy, for they had made friendship and treaties with Tidore and Terrenate, in order to be protected against the Castilians and Portuguese. The master-of-camp had the king of Tidore summoned immediately, and, while awaiting Don Pedro de Acuña, rested his men and cleaned the ships, and made gabions and other things necessary for the war. Don Pedro de Acuña, through his pilots' fault, had gone thirty leguas to leeward of the island of Terrenate toward the island of Celebes, otherwise called Mateo. Recognizing that island, he returned to Terrenate, and passing in sight of Talangame, discovered the Dutch vessel. He tried to reconnoiter it, but after seeing that it was harming his galleys with its artillery, and that the master-of-camp was not there, he proceeded to Tidore, where he found the latter, to the great joy of all. There they spent the remainder of the month of March. At this juncture the king of Tidore arrived, with twelve well-armed caracoas. He expressed joy at the governor's coming, to whom he complained at length of the tyranny and subjection in which he was kept by Sultan Zayde,[25] king of Terrenate, who was aided by the Dutch. He offered to go in person to serve his Majesty in the fleet, with six hundred men of Tidore. Don Pedro received him and feasted him. Then, without any further delay at Tidore, or any more

[25] Said Dini Baraka ja.– RIZAL.

concern about the ship at Talangame, he set about the chief purpose for which they had come. On the last of March he started to return to Terrenate. On that day he anchored in a harbor between the settlement and the port, as did also the king of Tidore with his caracoas. That same night the Dutch ship weighed anchor and went to Amboino. At dawn of next day, April first, soldiers were landed with some difficulty, with the intention of marching along the shore (which was a very close and narrow stretch) to the fort, in order to plant the artillery, with which to bombard it. As the governor thought that mischief would ensue because of the narrowness and closeness of the pass, he landed a number of pioneers on the high ground, to open another road, so that the remainder of the army might pass, and the enemy be diverted in several directions. By these efforts, he placed his camp under the walls, although a great number of Terenatans came from various directions to prevent him. The vanguard of the camp was in charge of Joan Xuarez Gallinato and Captains Joan de Cuevas, Don Rodrigo de Mendoça, Pasqual de Alarcon, Joan de Cervantes, Captain Vergara, and Cristoval de Villagra, with their companies. The other captains were in the body of the squadron. The rearguard was under command of Captain Delgado, while the master-of-camp aided in all parts. The army came up within range of the enemy's artillery, which suddenly began to play. The governor came to see how the troops were formed, and, leaving them at their post, returned to the fleet to have the pieces brought out for bombarding, and to obtain refreshment for the soldiers. Some high trees intervened between the troops and the wall, in which the

enemy had posted some scouts to reconnoiter the field. They were driven down, and our own scouts posted there, who gave advice from above of what was being done in the fort. Captain Vergara, and after him, Don Rodrigo de Mendoça and Alarcon, went to reconnoiter the walls, the bastion of Nuestra Señora, and the pieces mounted on the ground there, and a low wall of rough stone which extended to the mountain, where there was a bastion in which the wall ended. It was called Cachiltulo, and was defended with pieces of artillery and a number of culverins, muskets, arquebuses, and pikes; while many other weapons peculiar to the Terenatans were placed along the wall for its defense. Having seen and reconnoitered all this, although not with impunity, because the enemy had killed six soldiers with the artillery and wounded Alferez Joan de la Rambla in the knee with a musket-ball, the Spaniards returned to the army. A trifle past noon, a lofty site was reconnoitered, in the direction of the bastion of Cachiltulo, whence the enemy could be attacked and driven from the wall; and Captain Cuevas was ordered to occupy it with twenty-five musketeers. Having done this, the enemy sent out a crowd of men to prevent him from occupying it. A skirmish ensued, and the Moros turned and retreated to their wall. Cuevas followed them so closely and persisted so long, that he needed reënforcement. The scouts in the trees gave information of what was being done, whereupon Captains Don Rodrigo de Mendoça, Alarcon, Cervantes, and Vergara reënforced him with their light-armed pikemen and halberdiers. They pursued the enemy with so great rapidity and resolution that they entered the walls behind them.

Weapons of the Moros; photograph of weapons in the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid

However, some of the Spaniards were wounded, and Captain Cervantes was pushed down from the wall and his legs broken, which caused his death. Captain Don Rodrigo de Mendoça, pursuing the enemy, who were retiring, ran inside the wall as far as the cavalier of Nuestra Señora, while Vergara ran in the opposite direction along the curtain of the wall to the bastion of Cachiltulo, and went on as far as the mountain. By this time the main body of the army had already assaulted the wall. Mutually aiding one another, they mounted the wall and entered the place on all sides, although with the loss of some dead and wounded soldiers. The soldiers were stopped by a trench beyond the fort of Nuestra Señora, for the enemy had retreated to a shed, which was fortified with a considerable number of musketeers and arquebusiers, and four light pieces. They discharged their arquebuses and muskets at the Spaniards, and threw cane spears hardened in fire, and *bacacaes*,[26] after their fashion. The Spaniards assaulted the shed, whereupon a Dutch artilleryman trying to fire a large swivel-gun, with which he would have done great damage, being confused did not succeed, and threw down the linstock, turned, and fled. The enemy did the same after him, and abandoned the shed, fleeing in all directions. Those who would do so embarked with the king and some of his wives and the Dutch in one caracoa and four *juangas*[27] which they had

[26] Combés (*Mindanao*, Retana's ed., cols. 73, 74) describes the bagacay as a small, slender reed, hardened in fire and sharp-pointed; it is hurled by a Moro at an enemy with unerring skill, and sometimes five are discharged in one volley. He narrates surprising instances of the efficacy of this weapon, and says that "there is none more cruel, at close range."

[27] Stanley translates this "flat-boats." Retana and Pastells

armed near the king's fort. Captain Vergara entered the fort immediately, but found it deserted. Don Rodrigo de Mendoça and Villagra pursued the enemy toward the mountain for a long distance, and killed many Moros. With this, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the settlement and fort of Terrenate was completely gained. The Spanish banners and standards were flung from it, without it having been necessary for them to bombard the walls, as they had expected; and the fort was taken at so slight cost to the Spaniards. Their dead numbered fifteen men, and the wounded twenty more. The whole town was reconnoitered, even its extremity – a small fort, called Limataen – which contained two pieces of artillery, and two other pieces near the mosque on the seashore. The loot of the place was of small importance, for already the things of most value, and the women and children, had been removed to the island of Moro, whither the king fled and took refuge in a fort that he had there. Some products of that land were found, and a great quantity of cloves. In the factory of the Dutch were found two thousand ducados, some cloth goods and linens, and many weapons, while in many places were excellent Portuguese and Dutch artillery, a number of culverins and a quantity of ammunition, of which possession was taken for his Majesty.[28] A guard was placed over what was gained, and the

(Combés's *Mindanao*, col. 787) derive this word from Chinese *chun*, "a boat," and regard the *joanga* (*juanga*) as a small junk.

[28] "The soldiers, having entered the city, gave themselves universally to violence and pillage. Don Pedro had issued a proclamation conceding that all of the enemy captured within those four days, should be slaves" (Argensola). During the sack, which Don Pedro was unable to restrain, neither children nor young girls were spared. One girl was killed because two soldiers disputed for her.– RIZAL.

place was put in a condition for defense with some pieces taken from the fleet, while the governor ordered and provided whatever else was advisable.

Cachil Amuxa, the king's nephew and the greatest chief of Terrenate, came with other cachils to make peace with the governor. He said that he and all the Terenatans wished to be vassals of his Majesty, and that they would have rendered homage long before, but the king prevented them. The latter as a proud man, and, confident in his own opinion, although he had been advised to surrender the fort to his Majesty and render him homage, had steadily refused to do so, having been encouraged and emboldened by the success that he had gained upon other occasions. That was the reason that he found himself in his present wretched condition. He offered to induce the king to leave the fort of Moro if given assurance of life. Don Pedro de Acuña received this Moro well, and as a Portuguese, Pablo de Lima – one of those whom the Dutch had driven from Tidore, a man of high standing, and well acquainted with the king – offered to accompany him, the governor despatched them with a written passport as follows:

*Passport from Don Pedro de Acuña to the king of Terrenate*

I, Don Pedro de Acuña, governor, captain-general, and president of the Filipinas Islands, and general of this army and fleet, declare that, over my signature, I hereby give security of life to the king of Terrenate, in order that he may come to talk with me – both to him and those whom he may bring with him – reserving to myself the disposal of all the others as I may see fit. I certify this in his Majesty's

name. And I order that no person of this fleet molest him or any of his possessions, and that all observe what is herein contained. Given in Terrenate, April six, one thousand six hundred and six.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

Within nine days Cachilamuja and Pablo de Lima returned to Terrenate with the king, the prince, his son,[29] and others of his relatives, cachils and sangajes,[30] under the said passport. They placed themselves under the governor's power, and he received them with great affection and respect. He lodged the king and his son in a good house in the settlement, under guard of a company. The king restored the villages of Christians that his Majesty had possessed in the island of Moro, when the fort of Terrenate was lost by the Portuguese. He placed his person and kingdom in his Majesty's power, and surrendered a quantity of muskets and heavy artillery that he had in some forts of the said island. The governor did not despoil him of his kingdom, but on the contrary allowed him to appoint two of his men to govern, whose choice was to be ratified by himself. The king, his son the prince, and their cachils and sangajes swore homage to his Majesty. The kings of Tidore and Bachan, and the sangaje of La Bua did the same, and covenanted and promised not to admit either the Dutch or other nations into Maluco for the clove-trade. They promised, as his Majesty's vassals, to go on all occasions to serve him with their persons, men, and ships, whenever summoned by whomever

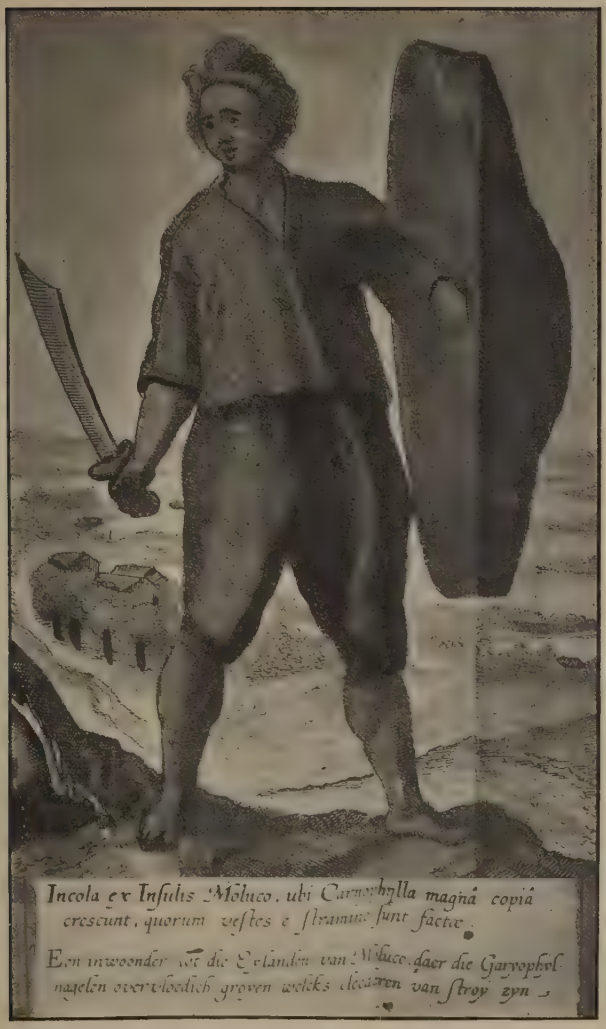
[29] "The prince's name was Sulamp Gariolano. This step was contrary to the advice of Queen Celicaya" (Argensola).— RIZAL.

[30] Sangajy, a Malay title (Marsden).— STANLEY.

commanded the fort of Terrenate; that they would oppose no obstacles to the Moros who wished to become Christians; that if any wicked Christian went to their lands to turn renegade, they would surrender him; and other suitable things. Therewith great and small were content and pleased, since they were freed from the tyranny of the king of Terrenate. The governor remitted to them the third part of the tributes which they were wont to pay their king, and gave the Moros other advantages. Then he planned a new and modern fort, in a very conspicuous and suitable location, and began to build it. In order that the old fort might be better defended while the new one was being completed, he reduced it to a less size, by making new cavaliers and bastions, which he finished and furnished with ramparts and stout gates. He commenced another fort in the island of Tidore, on a good location near the settlement. After placing in order whatever he judged necessary in Terrenate and Tidore, and in the other towns and fortresses of Maluco, he returned with his fleet to the Filipinas. He left the master-of-camp, Joan de Esquivel, with a garrison of six hundred soldiers – five hundred, in five companies, for Terrenate – in the fort of Terrenate to act as his assistant and as governor of Maluco; he also left there one large forge and a number of smiths, sixty-five pioneers, thirty-five stonecutters, two galliots, two well-armed brigantines, and crews of rowers. The other company of soldiers [was to be stationed] in Tidore under command of Captain Alarcon; while ammunition and provisions for one year were left in both forts. In order to be more assured of the [peaceful] condition of the country, he took the king of Terrenate

from it and carried him to Manila, as well as his son the prince, and twenty-four cachils and sangajes, most of them the king's relatives, to whom he showed every honor and good treatment. He explained to them why he took them, and that their return to Maluco depended upon the security and tranquillity with which the Moros should conduct themselves in their obedience and service to his Majesty.[31] The three Portuguese galliots returned to Malaca, taking with them the Dutch who were in Maluco and the Portuguese captains and soldiers who had come to take part in this expedition. The governor entered Manila in triumph with the remainder of the fleet,

[31] The Jesuit Father Luis Fernández, Gallinato, and Esquivel made negotiations with the king for this exile, and Father Colin attributes its good outcome to the cleverness of the former. What was then believed to be prudent resulted afterward as an impolitic measure, and bore very fatal consequences; for it aroused the hostility of all the Molucas, even that of their allies, and made the Spanish name as odious as was the Portuguese. The priest Hernando de los Rios, Bokemeyer, and other historians, moreover, accuse Don Pedro de Acuña of bad faith in this; but, strictly judged, we believe that they do so without foundation. Don Pedro in his passport assured the lives of the king and prince, but not their liberty. Doubtless a trifle more generosity would have made the conqueror greater, and the odium of the Spanish name less, while it would have assured Spanish domination of that archipelago. The unfortunate king never returned to his own country. Hernando de los Rios says that during Don Pedro de Acuña's life he was well treated, but that during the administration of Don Juan de Silva "I have seen him in a poor lodging where all the rain fell on him, and they were starving him to death." He is described by Argensola as of "robust proportions, and his limbs are well formed. His neck and much of his breast are bare. His flesh is of a cloudy color, rather black than gray. The features of his face are like those of an European. His eyes are large and full, and he seems to dart sparks from them. His large eyelashes, his thick bristling beard, and his mustaches add to his fierceness. He always wears his campilan, dagger, and kris, both with hilts in the form of gilded serpents' heads." This description was taken from a picture sent to Spain.– Rizal.


Incola ex Insulis Moluco. ubi Caryophylla magnâ copiâ
crescunt, quorum vestes e stramine sunt factæ.
Een inwoonder uyt die Eylanden van Moluco daer die Caryophyl
nagelen overvloedich groeyen welcks clederen van stroy zyn.

" Incola ex Insulis Moluco " (picture of a Moluccan warrior), from *Voyage ofte Schipvaert*, by Jan Huygen van Linschoten (Amstelredam, CIↃ. IↃ. XCVI)

[*From original (in colors), in Boston Public Library*]

on the last day of May, six hundred and six. He was received there with acclamations of joy and praise from the city, who gave thanks to God for so happy and prompt result in an undertaking of so great weight and importance.

During the governor's absence in Maluco, the royal Audiencia of the islands governed the Filipinas. The Audiencia wished to drive a number of Japanese from the city, for they were a turbulent people and promised little security for the country. When this was attempted and force employed, the Japanese resisted, and the matter came to such a pass that they took arms to oppose it, and it was necessary for the Spaniards to take their arms also. The affair assumed definite proportions, and some on either side wished to give battle. However, it was postponed by various means until, through the efforts of certain religious, the Japanese were quieted; and afterward as many as possible were embarked in vessels, although they resented it greatly. This was one of the greatest dangers that has threatened Manila, for the Spaniards were few in number, and the Japanese more than one thousand five hundred, and they are a spirited and very mettlesome race. Had they come to blows on this occasion, the Spaniards would have fared ill.[32]

The governor, upon entering Manila, took over immediately the affairs of his government, especially

[32] Other disturbances occurred also, because of Don Pedro's enemies having spread the news that the expedition had been destroyed, and most of those making it killed. "This report, having come to the ears of the Indians, was so harmful that they began to mutiny, especially in the provinces of Camarines and Pintados. The friars who instructed them could already do nothing with them, for they asked why, since the inhabitants of the Malucos were victorious, should they be subject to the Spaniards,

the despatching of two vessels about to sail to Nueva España. He was present in person in the port of Cabit at the equipment and lading of the ships, and the embarcation of the passengers. He was seized by some indisposition of the stomach which compelled him to return to Manila and take to his bed. His pain and vomiting increased so rapidly that, without its being possible to relieve him, he died in great anguish on St. John's day, to the great sorrow and grief of the country. Especially did the king of Terrenate show and express his grief, for he had always received great honor and kind treatment from the governor. It was suspected that his death had been violent, because of the severity and the symptoms of his illness. The suspicion increased, because the physicians and surgeons, having opened his body, declared, from the signs that they found, that he had been poisoned, which made his death more regrettable.[33] The Audiencia buried the governor in the monastery of St. Augustine at Manila, with the pomp and ostentation due to his person and offices. Then, again taking charge of the government, the

who did not defend them from the Moros. They said that the Moros would plunder them daily with the help of Ternate, and that it would be worse henceforth" (Argensola).– RIZAL.

La Concepción states (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, p. 103) that these Japanese were settled in Dilao; and that the immediate cause of their mutiny was the killing of a Japanese by a Spaniard, in a quarrel.

[33] The authors of this poisoning were then known in Manila, and according to Argensola were those envious of the governor. "But although they were known as such, so that the suspicion of the crowd makes them the authors of the poisoning . . . we shall repress their names . . . for all are now dead" (Argensola).– RIZAL.

Cf. La Concepción (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 105, 106); he ascribes the report of Acuña's poisoning to the physicians, who sought thus to shield their own ignorance of his disease.

Audiencia despatched the vessels to Nueva España, whence advice was sent to his Majesty of the taking of Maluco and the death of the governor.

The flagship, in which Don Rodrigo de Mendoça was sailing as general and captain, reached Nueva España quickly with this news. The almiranta, notwithstanding that it left the islands at the same time, delayed more than six months. Eighty persons who perished from disease were buried in the sea, while many others stricken by the disease died of it upon landing at the port of Acapulco. Among these was the licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera, auditor of Manila, who had been appointed auditor of Mexico.

At the arrival of these vessels, it was learned that since the death of Don Pedro de Acuña, and the taking over of the government by the Audiencia, no change had occurred in the affairs of the islands; but that their commerce was restricted because of the prohibition which forbade sending to the islands more than five hundred thousand pesos each year of the proceeds from the sale of the merchandise in Nueva España. On account of this the people were in need, as this amount appeared little for the many Spaniards and for the extent of the trade – by which all classes are sustained, as they have no other resources or capital. Also, although the gaining of Maluco had been so important for affairs in those islands themselves, and their punishment for the reduction of the other rebels – especially those of Mindanao and Jolo, from whom the Filipinas had received so great injury – the desirable quiet and stability had not been secured. For the Mindanaos and the Joloans were not yet discontinuing their descents upon the provinces of the Pintados in their war-

vessels, to seize booty according to their custom – and this will continue until a suitable expedition be sent against them – and Maluco affairs were not failing to give Joan de Esquivel, the master-of-camp, sufficient to do. He was acting as governor there and had but little security from the natives, who, being a Mahometan people, and by nature easily persuaded and fickle, are restless, and ready for disturbances and wars. Daily and in different parts the natives were being incited and aroused to rebellion; and although the master-of-camp and his captains were endeavoring to punish and pacify them, they could not do what was necessary to quiet so many disturbances as arose. The soldiers were dying, and the food giving out; and the aid sent from Manila could not arrive at the time or in so great quantity as was requested, because of the perils of the voyage and the straits of the royal treasury.[34] The coming of vessels to Maluco at this time from Holanda and Zelanda was not less prejudicial to all our interests; for the Dutch, having so great interests in the islands, and having established their interests there so firmly, were coming in squadrons by the India route, to recover what they had lost in Amboino, Terrenate, and other islands. With their countenance, the Moros were revolting against the Spaniards, who had their hands

[34] These were the results of having taken the king and his chiefs, who had entrusted themselves to Don Pedro de Acuña, prisoners to Manila, the king of Tidore, the ally of España, had already found means to break the alliance. The governors appointed by the captive king refused to have anything to do with the Spaniards. Fear was rampant in all parts, and the spirit of vengeance was aroused. "When his vassals saw the ill-treatment that the Spaniards inflicted on their king, they hated us so much that they acquired an equal liking for our enemies. (Her. de los Rios)." Don Pedro lacked the chief characteristic of Legazpi.– RIZAL.

full with them, and more so with the Dutch, for the latter were numerous, and more dangerous enemies than the natives.

The Dutch interest in these regions is so vast – both in the clove-trade and that of other drugs and spices, and because they think that they will have a gateway there for the subjugation of the whole Orient – that, overcoming all the toil and dangers of the voyage, they are continually coming to these islands in greater numbers and with larger fleets. If a very fundamental and timely remedy be not administered in this matter, it will increase to such an extent in a short time that afterward no remedy can be applied.

The English and Flemish usually make this voyage by way of the strait of Magallanes. Francisco Draque [Drake] was the first to make it, and some years later Tomas Liscander [Candish or Cavendish], who passed by Maluco.

Lately Oliver del Nort, a Fleming, made the voyage. The Spanish fleet fought with his fleet amid the Filipinas Islands, at the end of the year one thousand six hundred. In this fight, after the capture of his almiranta (which was commanded by Lamberto Biezman) the flagship, having lost nearly all its crew, and being much disabled, took to flight. And as it afterward left the Filipinas, and was seen in Sunda and the Java channels, so disabled, it seemed impossible for it to navigate, and that it would surely be lost, as was recounted above when treating of this.

This pirate, although so crippled, had the good fortune to escape from the Spaniards, and, after great troubles and hardships, he returned to Amstradam with his ship " Mauricio," with only nine men alive, reaching it on the twenty-sixth of August in the year

six hundred and one. He wrote the relation and the events of his voyage, and gave plates of the battle and of the ships. This was afterward translated into Latin and printed by Teodoro de Bri, a German, at Francfort, in the year six hundred and two. Both relations are going the rounds, and the voyage is regarded as a most prodigious feat and one of so great hardships and perils.[35]

Bartolome Perez, a pilot, gave the same news from the island of La Palma. He, having come from England by way of Holanda, conversed with Oliver del Nort, and the latter narrated to him his voyage and sufferings, as mentioned by Licentiate Fernando de la Cueva in a letter from the island of La Palma,[36] on the last of July, of the year six hundred and four, to Marcos de la Cueva, his brother, who was a resident of Manila, and one of the volunteers who embarked on the Spanish flagship which fought with the pirate. This letter is as follows.

I answer two of your Grace's letters in this: one dated July, six hundred and one, and the other July,

[35] This relation forms an appendix to Theodore de Bry's *Ninth part of America* (Frankfort, 1601), and was printed by Matthew Becker (Frankfort, 1602). The copper plates are different from those of the Dutch edition of the relation.– STANLEY.

The plates representing Oliver van Noordt's fleet, presented in the preceding volume, are taken from tome xvi of Theodore de Bry's *Peregrinationes* (first ed.), by courtesy of the Boston Public Library. The title-page of the relation reads in part: "Description dv penible voyage faict entovr de l'univers ou globe terrestre, par Sr. Olivier dv Nort d'Avtrecht, . . . Le tout tranſlaté du Flamand en Franchois, . . . Imprimé a Amſterdame. Ches Cornille Claeſſz ſur l'Eau au Livre a Eſcrire, l'An 1602." This relation was reprinted in 1610, and numerous editions have appeared since.

[36] One of the Canary Islands.

six hundred and two. In both of them your Grace relates to me the shipwreck that befell you and how you saved yourself by swimming. Long before I saw your Grace's letters, I had learned of your mishap, whereat I was very anxious and even quite grieved; because of what was reported here, I imagined that your Grace had a part in it. Consequently, I was singularly overjoyed at the assurance that your Grace still possessed life and health. Having them, one can conquer other things; and without them human treasure has no value. By way of Flandes (whence ships come daily to this island), I learned much, nay, all the event, although not so minutely. For Oliver de Nort, who was the Dutch general, with whom the engagement occurred, arrived safely in Holanda, with eight men – and he made nine – and without money. His purpose when he left the rebellious states of Holanda and Zelanda, with five armed vessels laden with merchandise – which were worth, principal and merchandise, one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand ducados – was to trade and carry on commerce through the strait (and such were his orders), in whatever parts he should be, with friends or enemies. He was not to attack anyone, but only to defend himself and to incline the Indians to trade and exchange with him. All the vessels having reached the strait together, three of them became separated there because of storms, and must have been wrecked; for up to the present nothing has been heard of them. Having seen himself so abandoned, and that he could not restore his loss by trade, or else because he did not receive a hospitable reception from the inhabitants of Piru, he determined to exceed his orders, and make that voyage one

of plundering. Accordingly he stationed himself at the mouth of the river to await ships. The rest that befell, your Grace knows. Oliver de Nort is a native of the city of Roterdam, and he reached it with an anchor of wood.[37] He had no other with which to anchor, nor indeed had he any other left. It is said that this is a very heavy wood of the Indias, and he has placed it at the door of his house, as a mark of distinction. He arrived, as I say, with nine men, all told, very much worn out, and as by a miracle. He has printed a book of his voyage, with engravings of his vessels, and many other details of what happened to him, and the hardships that they endured in the fight and throughout the voyage, both to show his own glory and to incite others to similar deeds. A pilot of this island, one Bartolome Perez, was seized and taken to Inglaterra before the peace or truce. He came through Holanda, where he conversed at great length with Oliver. The latter told him all that had happened to him, which is known to all, and was discussed in this island before that voyage. Bartolome Perez says that Oliver de Nort praised the Spaniards greatly, and said they were the bravest men he had seen in his life. They had gained the deck of his ship, and all the upper works, when he cried out from below deck to set fire to the powder, whereupon he believes that the Spaniards left for fear of being blown up. The Dutch then had an opportunity to escape, but so crippled were they that their reaching port seems a miracle. The pilot says that he saw the anchor and the book, and what pertains to the book is stated here. I have recounted

[37] This anchor was given him by a Japanese captain, in Manila Bay, on December 3, 1600.– STANLEY.

this to your Grace, because of the statements in your letter, namely, that people considered them as lost, and so that so singular a case may be known there.

Now the Dutch make the voyage more quickly and more safely, going and coming, by way of India, but not touching at its ports or coasts, until they reach the islands of the Javas[38] – Java major and Java minor – and Samatra, Amboino, and the Malucas. Since they know the district so well, and have experienced the immense profits ensuing to them therefrom, it will be difficult to drive them from the Orient, where they have inflicted so many losses in both spiritual and temporal affairs.

¶ *Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of their natives, antiquity, customs, and government, both during the period of their paganism and after their conquest by the Spaniards, and other details.*

¶ CHAPTER EIGHTH

The islands of the eastern Ocean Sea, adjacent to farther Asia, belonging to the crown of España, are generally called, by those who navigate thither by way of the demarcation of Castilla and Castilla's seas and lands of America, "the Western Islands;"

[38] What we now call Java used to be called Java major, and the island of Bali was Java minor.– STANLEY.

[Note: Inasmuch as Morga enters somewhat largely into the ancient customs of the Tagáls and other Filipino peoples in the present chapter, and as some of Rizal's notes indicative of the ancient culture of those peoples are incorporated in notes that follow, we deem it advisable to invite attention to Lord Stanley's remarks in the preface to his translation of Morga (p. vii), and Pardo de Tavera's comment in his *Biblioteca Filipina* (Washington, 1903), p. 276. Stanley says: "The inhabitants of the Philippines pre-

for from the time that one leaves España, he sails in the course of the sun from east to west, until he reaches them. For the same reason they are called "Eastern Islands" by those who sail from west to east by way of Portuguese India, each of them circumscribing the world by voyaging in opposite directions, until they meet at these islands, which are numerous and of varying size; they are properly called Filipinas, and are subject to the crown of Castilla. They lie within the tropic of Cancer, and extend from twenty-four degrees north latitude to the equinoctial line, which cuts the islands of Maluco. There are many others on the other side of the line, in the tropic of Capricorn, which extend for twelve degrees in south latitude.[39] The ancients affirmed that each and all of them were desert and uninhabitable,[40] but now experience has demon-

vious to the Spanish settlement were not like the inhabitants of the great Indian Peninsula, people with a civilization as that of their conquerors. Excepting that they possessed the art of writing, and an alphabet of their own, they do not appear to have differed in any way from the Dayaks of Borneo as described by Mr. Boyle in his recent book of adventures amongst that people. Indeed there is almost a coincidence of verbal expressions in the descriptions he and De Morga give of the social customs, habits, and superstitions of the two peoples they are describing; though many of these coincidences are such as are incidental to life in similar circumstances, there are enough to lead one to suppose a community of origin of the inhabitants of Borneo and Luzon." Pardo de Tavera says after quoting the first part of the above: "Lord Stanley's opinion is dispassionate and not at all at variance with historical truth." The same author says also that Blumentritt's prologue and Rizal's notes in the latter's edition of Morga have so aroused the indignation of the Spaniards that several have even attacked Morga.]

[39] More exactly from 25° 40′ north latitude to 12° south latitude, if we are to include Formosa in the group, which is inhabited likewise by the same race.—RIZAL.

[40] We confess our ignorance with respect to the origin of this belief of Morga, which, as one can observe, was not his belief in

strated that they deceived themselves; for good climates, many people, and food and other things necessary for human life are found there, besides many mines of rich metals, with precious gems and pearls, and animals and plants, which nature has not stinted.

It is impossible to number all the islands – counting larger and smaller – of this vast archipelago. Those comprised in the name and government of Filipinas, number about forty large islands, besides other smaller ones, all consecutive. The chiefest and best known are Luzon, Mindoro, Tendaya,[41] Capul, Burias, Mazbate, Marinduque, Leite, Camar, Ybabao, Sebu, Panay, Bohol, Catenduanes, Calamianes, Mindanao, and others of less renown.

the beginning of the first chapter. Already from the time of Diodorus Siculus (first century B. C.), Europe received information of these islands by one Iamboule, a Greek, who went to them (to Sumatra at least), and who wrote afterward the relation of his voyage. He gave therein detailed information of the number of the islands, of their inhabitants, of their writing, navigation, etc. Ptolemy mentions three islands in his geography, which are called Sindæ in the Latin text. They are inhabited by the *αγιννατα*. Mercator interprets those islands as Celebes, Gilolo, and Amboina. Ptolemy also mentions the island *αγαθου δαιμονος* (Borneo), five *βαρουσσαι* (Mindanao, Leite, Sebu, etc.), three *σαβαδείβαι* (the Java group – *ταβαδιου*) and ten *μασιτολαι* where a large loadstone was found. Colin surmises that these are the Manilas.– RIZAL.

Colin (*Labor Evangelica*, Madrid, 1663) discusses the discovery and naming of the Philippines. He quotes Ptolemy's passage that speaks of islands called the Maniolas, whence many suppose came the name Manilas, sometimes given to the islands. But as pointed out in a letter dated March 14, 1904, by James A. LeRoy, Spanish writers have wasted more time on the question than it merits. Mr. LeRoy probably conjectures rightly that many old Chinese and Japanese documents will be found to contain matter relating to the Philippines prior to the Spanish conquest.

[41] It is very difficult now to determine exactly which is this island of Tendaya, called Isla Filipina for some years. According

The first island conquered and colonized by the Spaniards was Sebu.[42] From there the conquest was started and continued in all the neighboring islands. Those islands are inhabited by people, natives of the same islands, called Viçayas; or by another name, Pintados – for the more prominent of the men, from their youth, tattoo their whole bodies, by pricking them wherever they are marked and then throwing certain black powders over the bleeding surface, the figures becoming indelible. But, as the chief seat of the government, and the principal Spanish settlement, was moved to the island of Luzon – the largest island, and that one nearest and opposite to Great China and Japon – I shall treat of it first; for much that will be said of it is similar in the others, to each of whose particulars and distinctive details I shall pass in due time.

This island of Luzon extends lengthwise, from the point and head where one enters the Filipinas Islands (by the channel of Capul, which lies in thirteen and one-half degrees north latitude) to the other

to Father Urdaneta's relations, this island was far to the east of the group, past the meridian of Maluco. Mercator locates it in Panay, and Colin in Leyte, between Abuyog and Cabalían – contrary to the opinion of others, who locate it in Ibabao, or south of Samar. But according to other documents of that period, there is no island by that name, but a chief called Tendaya, lord of a village situated in that district; and, as the Spaniards did not understand the Indians well at that time, many contradictions thus arose in the relations of that period. We see that, in Legazpi's expedition, while the Spaniards talked of islands, the Indians talked of a man, etc. After looking for Tandaya for ten days they had to continue without finding it "and we passed on without seeing Tandaya or Abuyo." It appears, nevertheless, that the Spaniards continued to give this name to the southwestern part of Samar, calling the southeastern part Ibabao or Zibabao and the northern part of the same island Samar.– RIZAL.

[42] Sugbú, in the dialect of the country.– RIZAL.

point in the province of Cagayan, called Cape Bojeador (and located opposite China, in twenty degrees), more than two hundred leguas. In some parts its width is more constricted than in others, especially in the middle of the island, where it is so narrow that it is less than thirty leguas from sea to sea, or from one coast to the other. The whole island is more than four hundred leguas in circumference.

The climates of this island are not harmonious; on the contrary, they present a great diversity in its different districts and provinces. The head and beginning of the island, in the region of the channel, is more temperate in the interior, although the coasts are hot. The site of the city of Manila is hot, for it is on the coast and is low; but in its vicinity, quite near the city, there are districts and settlements much cooler, where the heat is not oppressive. The same is true of the other head of the island, opposite China, named Cagayan. The seasons of the year – winter and summer – are contrary to those in Europe; for the rains generally last in all these islands from the month of June until the month of September, and are accompanied by heavy showers, whirlwinds, and storms on sea and land. The summer lasts from October to the end of May, with clear skies and fair winds at sea. However, the winter and rainy season begins earlier in some provinces than in others.[43] In Cagayan winter and summer almost coincide with those of España, and come at the same seasons.

[43] Morga considers the rainy season as winter, and the rest of the year as summer. However this is not very exact, for at Manila, in December, January, and February, the thermometer is lower than in the months of August and September. Consequently, in its seasons it is like those of España and those of all the rest of the northern hemisphere.– RIZAL.

The people inhabiting the province of Camarines and almost as far as the provinces of Manila, in this great island of Luzon, both along the coast and in the interior, are natives of this island. They are of medium height, with a complexion like stewed quinces; and both men and women are well-featured. They have very black hair, and thin beards; and are very clever at anything that they undertake, keen and passionate, and of great resolution. All live from their labor and gains in the field, their fishing, and trade, going from island to island by sea, and from province to province by land.

The natives of the other provinces of this island as far as Cagayan are of the same nature and disposition, except that it has been learned by tradition that those of Manila and its vicinity were not natives of this island, but came thither in the past and colonized it; and that they are Malay natives, and come from other islands and remote provinces.[44]

In various parts of this island of Luzon are found a number of natives, black in color. Both men and women have woolly hair, and their stature is not very great, although they are strong and robust. These people are barbarians, and have but little capacity. They possess no fixed houses or settlements, but wander in bands and hordes through the mountains and rough country, changing from one site to another

[44] The ancient traditions made Sumatra the original home of the Filipino Indians. These traditions, as well as the mythology and genealogies mentioned by the ancient historians, were entirely lost, thanks to the zeal of the religious in rooting out every national pagan or idolatrous record. With respect to the ethnology of the Filipinas, see Professor Blumentritt's very interesting work, *Versuch einer Etnographie der Philippinen* (Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1882).—Rizal.

according to the season. They support themselves in certain clearings, and by planting rice, which they do temporarily, and by means of the game that they bring down with their bows, in the use of which they are very skilful and certain.[45] They live also on honey from the mountains, and roots produced by the ground. They are a barbarous people, in whom one cannot place confidence. They are much given to killing and to attacking the settlements of the other natives, in which they commit many depredations; and there is nothing that can be done to stop them, or to subdue or pacify them, although this is always attempted by fair or foul means, as opportunity and necessity demand.

The province of Cagayan is inhabited by natives of the same complexion as the others of the island, although they are better built, and more valiant and warlike than the others. They wear their hair long and hanging down the back. They have been in revolt and rebellion twice since the first time when they were pacified; and there has been plenty to do, on different occasions, in subduing them and repacifying them.

The apparel and clothing of these natives of Luzon before the entrance of the Spaniards into the country were generally, for the men, certain short collarless garments of *cangan*, sewed together in the front, and with short sleeves, and reaching slightly below the waist; some were blue and others black, while the

[45] This passage contradicts the opinion referred to in Boyle's *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, respecting the ignorance of the Dyaks in the use of the bow, which seems to imply that other South Sea islanders are supposed to share this ignorance. These aboriginal savages of Manila resemble the Pakatans of Borneo in their mode of life.– STANLEY.

chiefs had some red ones, called *chinanas*.[46] They also wore a strip of colored cloth wrapped about the waist, and passed between the legs, so that it covered the privy parts, reaching half-way down the thigh; these are called *bahaques*.[47] They go with legs bare, feet unshod, and the head uncovered, wrapping a narrow cloth, called *potong*[48] just below it, with which they bind the forehead and temples. About their necks they wear gold necklaces, wrought like spun wax,[49] and with links in our fashion, some larger than others. On their arms they wear armlets of wrought gold, which they call *calombigas*, and which are very large and made in different patterns. Some

[46] We do not know the origin of this word, which does not seem to be derived from *China*. If we may make a conjecture, we will say that perhaps a poor phonetic transcription has made *chinina* from the word *tininã* (from *tinã*) which in Tagál signifies *teñido* [" dyed stuff "], the name of this article of clothing, generally of but one color throughout. The chiefs wore these garments of a red color, which made, according to Colin, " of fine gauze from India."– RIZAL.

[47] Bahag " a richly dyed cloth, generally edged with gold " among the chiefs.– RIZAL.

[48] " They wrapped it in different ways, now in the Moro style, like a turban without the top part, now twisted and turned in the manner of the crown of a hat. Those who esteemed themselves valiant let the ends of the cloth, elaborately embroidered, fall down the back to the buttocks. In the color of the cloth, they showed their chieftaincy, and the device of their undertakings and prowess. No one was allowed to use the red potong until he had killed at least one man. And in order to wear them edged with certain edgings, which were regarded as a crown, they must have killed seven men (Colin)." Even now any Indian is seen to wear the *balindang* in the manner of the *putong*. *Putong* signifies in Tagál, " to crown " or " to wrap anything around the head." – RIZAL.

[49] This is the reading of the original (*cera hilada*). It seems more probable that this should read " spun silk," and that Morga's amanuensis misunderstood *seda* (" silk ") as *cera* (" wax "), or else it is a misprint.

wear strings of precious stones – cornelians and agates; and other blue and white stones, which they esteem highly.[50] They wear around the legs some strings of these stones, and certain cords, covered with black pitch in many foldings, as garters.[51]

In a province called Zambales, they wear the head shaved from the middle forward. On the skull they have a huge lock of loose hair.[52] The women throughout this island wear small jackets [*sayuelos*] with sleeves of the same kinds of cloth and of all colors, called *varos*.[53] They wear no shifts, but certain white cotton garments which are wrapped about the waist and fall to the feet, while other dyed cloths are wrapped about the body, like kirtles, and are very graceful. The principal women have crimson ones, and some of silk, while others are woven with gold, and adorned with fringe and other ornaments. They wear many gold necklaces about the neck, calumbigas on the wrists, large earrings of wrought gold in the ears, and rings of gold and precious stones. Their black hair is done up in a very graceful knot on the head. Since the Spaniards came to the country many Indians do not wear *bahaques*, but wide

[50] "They also have strings of bits of ivory" (Colin).– RIZAL.

[51] "The last complement of the gala dress was, in the manner of our sashes, a richly dyed shawl crossed at the shoulder and fastened under the arm" (even today the men wear the *lambong* or mourning garment in this manner) "which was very usual with them. The Bisayans, in place of this, wore robes or loose garments, well made and collarless, reaching to the instep, and embroidered in colors. All their costume, in fact, was in the Moorish manner, and was truly elegant and rich; and even today they consider it so" (Colin).– RIZAL.

[52] This manner of headdress, and the long robe of the Visayans, have an analogy with the Japanese coiffure and kimono.– RIZAL.

[53] Barõ.– RIZAL.

drawers of the same cloths and materials, and hats on their heads. The chiefs wear braids of wrought gold containing many designs, while many of them wear shoes. The chief women also wear beautiful shoes, many of them having shoes of velvet adorned with gold, and white garments like petticoats.

Men and women, and especially the chief people, are very clean and neat in their persons and clothing, and of pleasing address and grace. They dress their hair carefully, and regard it as being more ornamental when it is very black. They wash it with water in which has been boiled the bark of a tree called *gogo*.[54] They anoint it with aljonjoli oil, prepared with musk, and other perfumes. All are very careful of their teeth, which from a very early age they file and render even, with stones and iron.[55] They dye them a black color, which is lasting, and which preserves their teeth until they are very old, although it is ugly to look at.[56]

They quite generally bathe the entire body in the rivers and creeks, both young and old, without reflecting that it could at any time be injurious to them;[57] for in their baths do they find their best

[54] A tree (*Entada purseta*) which grows in most of the provinces of the Philippines. It contains a sort of filament, from which is extracted a soapy foam, which is much used for washing clothes. This foam is also used to precipitate the gold in the sand of rivers. Rizal says the most common use is that described above.

[55] This custom still exists.– RIZAL.

[56] This custom exists also among the married women of Japan, as a sign of their chastity. It is now falling into disuse.– RIZAL.

[57] The Filipinos were careful not to bathe at the hour of the siesta, after eating, during the first two days of a cold, when they have the herpes, and some women during the period of menstruation.– RIZAL.

medicines. When an infant is born, they immediately bathe it, and the mother likewise. The women have needlework as their employment and occupation, and they are very clever at it, and at all kinds of sewing. They weave cloth and spin cotton, and serve in the houses of their husbands and fathers. They pound the rice for eating,[58] and prepare the other food. They raise fowls and swine, and keep the houses, while the men are engaged in the labors of the field, and in their fishing, navigation, and trading. They are not very chaste, either single or married women; while their husbands, fathers, or brothers are not very jealous or anxious about it.* Both men and women are so selfish and greedy that, if they are paid, they are easily won over. When the husband finds his wife in adultery, he is smoothed and pacified without any trouble – although, since they have known Spaniards, some of those who assume to be more enlightened among them have sometimes killed the adulterers. Both men and women, especially the chiefs, walk slowly and sedately when upon their visits, and when going through the streets and to the temples; and are accompanied by many slaves, both male and female, with parasols of silk which they carry to protect them from the sun and rain. The women walk ahead and their female servants and slaves follow them; behind these walk their husbands, fathers, or brothers, with their man-servants and slaves.[59]

Their ordinary food is rice pounded in wooden

[58] This work, although not laborious, is generally performed now by the men, while the women do only the actual cleaning of the rice.– RIZAL.

[59] This custom is still to be seen in some parts.– RIZAL.

mortars, and cooked – this is called *morisqueta,*[60] and is the ordinary bread of the whole country – boiled fish (which is very abundant), the flesh of swine, deer, and wild buffaloes (which they call *carabaos*). Meat and fish they relish better when it has begun to spoil and when it stinks.[61] They also eat boiled camotes (which are sweet potatoes), beans, *quilites,*[62] and other vegetables; all kinds of bananas, guavas, pineapples, custard apples, many varieties of oranges, and other varieties of fruits and herbs, with which the country teems. Their drink is a wine made from the tops of cocoa and nipa palm, of which there is a great abundance. They are grown and tended like vineyards, although without so much toil and labor. Drawing off the *tuba,*[63] they distil it, using for alembics their own little furnaces and utensils, to a greater or less strength, and it becomes brandy. This is drunk throughout the islands. It is a wine of the clarity of water, but strong and dry. If it be used with moderation, it acts as a medicine for the stomach, and is a protection against humors and all sorts of rheums. Mixed with Spanish wine, it makes a mild liquor, and one very palatable and healthful.

In the assemblies, marriages, and feasts of the natives of these islands, the chief thing consists in drinking this wine, day and night, without ceasing,

[60] A name given it by the Spaniards. Its Tagál name is *kanin.*– RIZAL.

[61] The fish mentioned by Morga is not tainted, but is the *bagoong.*– RIZAL.

[62] A term applied to certain plants (*Amaranthus, Celosia,* etc.) of which the leaves are boiled and eaten.

[63] From the Tagál *tubā,* meaning sap or juice.– RIZAL.

when the turn of each comes, some singing and others drinking. As a consequence, they generally become intoxicated without this vice being regarded as a dishonor or disgrace.[64]

The weapons of this people are, in some provinces, bow and arrows. But those generally used throughout the islands are moderate-sized spears with well-made points; and certain shields of light wood, with their armholes fastened on the inside. These cover them from top to toe, and are called *carasas* [*kalasag*]. At the waist they carry a dagger four fingers in breadth, the blade pointed, and a third of a vara in length; the hilt is of gold or ivory. The pommel is open and has two cross bars or projections, without any other guard. They are called *bararaos*. They have two cutting edges, and are kept in wooden scabbards, or those of buffalo-horn, admirably wrought.[65] With these they strike with the point, but more generally with the edge. When they go in pursuit of their opponent, they show great dexterity in seizing his hair with one hand, while with the other they cut off his head with one stroke of the bararao, and carry it away. They afterward keep the heads suspended in their houses, where they may be seen; and

[64] The Filipinos have reformed in this respect, due perhaps to the wine-monopoly. Colin says that those intoxicated by this wine were seldom disagreeable or dangerous, but rather more witty and sprightly; nor did they show any ill effects from drinking it.– RIZAL.

[65] This weapon has been lost, and even its name is gone. A proof of the decline into which the present Filipinos have fallen is the comparison of the weapons that they manufacture now, with those described to us by the historians. The hilts of the *talibones* now are not of gold or ivory, nor are their scabbards of horn, nor are they admirably wrought.– RIZAL.

*Balarao*, dagger, is a Vissayan word.– STANLEY.

of these they make a display, in order to be considered as valiant, and avengers of their enemies and of the injuries committed by them.[66]

Since they have seen the Spaniards use their weapons, many of the natives handle the arquebuses and muskets quite skilfully. Before the arrival of the Spaniards they had bronze culverins and other pieces of cast iron, with which they defended their forts and settlements, although their powder is not so well refined as that of the Spaniards.

Their ships and boats are of many kinds; for on the rivers and creeks inland they use certain very large canoes, each made from one log, and others fitted with benches and made from planks, and built up on keels. They have vireys and barangays, which are certain quick and light vessels that lie low in the water, put together with little wooden nails. These are as slender at the stern as at the bow, and they can hold a number of rowers on both sides, who propel their vessels with *bucçeyes* or paddles, and with *gaones*[67] on the outside of the vessel; and they time their rowing to the accompaniment of some who sing in their language refrains by which they understand whether to hasten or retard their rowing.[68] Above the rowers is a platform or gangway, built of bamboo, upon which the fighting-men stand, in order not to interfere with the rowing of the oarsmen. In

[66] The only other people who now practice head-hunting are the Montenegrins.– STANLEY.

[67] A Tagál word meaning oar.– STANLEY.

[68] A common device among barbarous or semi-civilized peoples, and even among boatmen in general. These songs often contain many interesting and important bits of history, as well as of legendary lore.

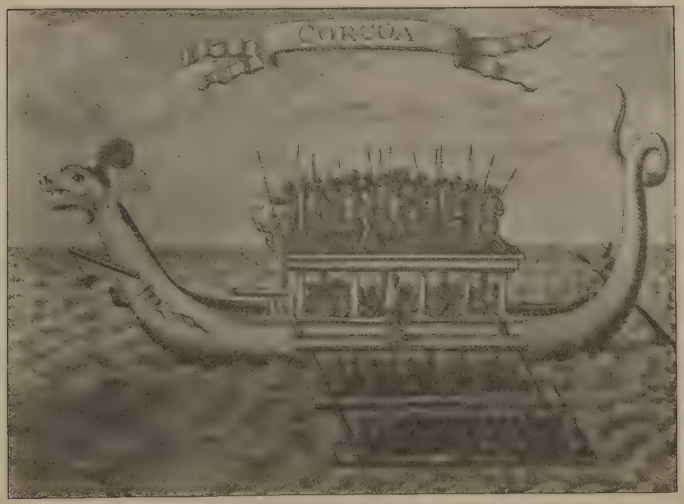
accordance with the capacity of the vessels is the number of men on these gangways. From that place they manage the sail, which is square and made of linen, and hoisted on a support or yard made of two thick bamboos, which serves as a mast. When the vessel is large, it also has a foresail of the same form. Both yards, with their tackle, can be lowered upon the gangway when the weather is rough. The helmsmen are stationed in the stern to steer. It carries another bamboo framework on the gangway itself; and upon this, when the sun shines hot, or it rains, they stretch an awning made from some mats, woven from palm-leaves. These are very bulky and close, and are called *cayanes*.[69] Thus all the ship and its crew are covered and protected. There are also other bamboo frameworks for each side of the vessel, which are so long as the vessel, and securely fastened on. They skim the water, without hindering the rowing, and serve as a counterpoise, so that the ship cannot overturn nor upset, however heavy the sea, or strong the wind against the sail. It may happen that the entire hull of these vessels, which have no decks, may fill with water and remain between wind and water, even until it is destroyed and broken up, without sinking, because of these counterpoises. These vessels have been used commonly throughout the islands since olden times. They have other larger vessels called caracoas, *lapis*, and *tapaques*, which are used to carry their merchandise, and which are very suitable, as they are roomy and draw but little water. They generally drag them ashore every night, at the mouths of rivers and creeks, among which they al-

[69] In Tagal these are called *Karang*, signifying awnings.—Rizal and Stanley.

ways navigate without going into the open sea or leaving the shore. All the natives can row and manage these boats. Some are so long that they can carry one hundred rowers on a side and thirty soldiers above to fight. The boats commonly used are barangays and vireys, which carry a less crew and fighting force. Now they put many of them together with iron nails instead of the wooden pegs and the joints in the planks, while the helms and bows have beaks like Castilian boats.[70]

The land is well shaded in all parts by trees of different kinds, and fruit-trees which beautify it throughout the year, both along the shore and inland among the plains and mountains. It is very full of large and small rivers, of good fresh water, which flow into the sea. All of them are navigable, and abound in all kinds of fish, which are very pleasant to the taste. For the above reason there is a large supply of lumber, which is cut and sawed, dragged to the rivers, and brought down, by the natives. This lumber is very useful for houses and buildings, and for the construction of small and large vessels. Many

[70] The Filipinos, like the inhabitants of the Marianas – who are no less skilful and dexterous in navigation – far from progressing, have retrograded; since, although boats are now built in the islands, we might assert that they are all after European models. The boats that held one hundred rowers to a side and thirty soldiers have disappeared. The country that once, with primitive methods, built ships of about 2,000 toneladas, today [1890] has to go to foreign ports, as Hong-Kong, to give the gold wrenched from the poor, in exchange for unserviceable cruisers. The rivers are blocked up, and navigation in the interior of the islands is perishing, thanks to the obstacles created by a timid and mistrusting system of government; and there scarcely remains in the memory anything but the name of all that naval architecture. It has vanished, without modern improvements having come to replace it in such proportion as, during the past centuries, has occurred in adjacent countries. . . . – RIZAL.




View of corcoa (the vessel known as "caracoa"); from Stevens's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1711)

[*From copy in library of Wisconsin State Historical Society*]

very straight thick trees, light and pliable, are found, which are used as masts for ships and galleons. Consequently, vessels of any size may be fitted with masts from these trees, made of one piece of timber, without its being necessary to splice them or make them of different pieces. For the hulls of the ships, the keels, futtock-timbers, top-timbers, and any other kinds of supports and braces, compass-timbers, transoms, knees small and large, and rudders, all sorts of good timber are easily found; as well as good planking for the sides, decks, and upper-works, from very suitable woods.[71]

There are many native fruit-trees, such as the *sanctors*, *mabolos*, tamarinds, *nancas*, custard-apples, papaws, guavas, and everywhere many oranges, of all kinds – large and small, sweet and sour; citrons, lemons, and ten or twelve varieties of very healthful and palatable bananas.[72] There are many cocoa-

[71] It seems that some species of trees disappeared or became very scarce because of the excessive ship-building that took place later. One of them is the *betis*.– RIZAL.

Blanco states (*Flora*, ed. 1845, p. 281) that the betis (*Azaola betis*) was common in Pampanga and other regions.

Delgado describes the various species of trees in the Philippines in the first six treatises of the first part of the fourth book of *Historia general de Filipinas* (Manila, 1892). He mentions by name more than seventy trees grown on the level plains and near the shores; more than forty fruit-trees; more than twenty-five species grown in the mountains; sixteen that actually grow in the water; and many kinds of palms. See also *Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1902), pp. 85-95, and Buzeta and Bravo's *Diccionario* (Madrid, 1850), i, pp. 29-36.

[72] *Sanctor* is called *santol* (*Sandoricum indicum* – Cavanilles), in Delgado (*ut supra*, note 71). The tree resembles a walnut-tree. Its leaves are rounded and as large as the palm of the hand, and are dark green in color. Excellent preserves are made from the fruit, which was also eaten raw by the Indians. The leaves of the tree have medicinal properties and were used as poultices. *Mabolo* (*Diospyros discolor* – Willd.) signifies in Tagál a thing

palms bearing fruit of pleasant taste – from which is made wine and common oil, which is a very healing remedy for wounds; and other wild palms of the forests – that do not yield cocoa-nuts, but serve as wood, and from whose bark is made bonote, a tow for rigging and cables, and also for calking ships. Efforts have been made to plant olives and quinces, and other fruit-trees of España, but as yet they have had no success, except with pomegranates and grape-vines, which bear fruit the second year. These bear abundance of exceedingly good grapes three times a year; and some fig-trees have succeeded. Vegetables of every kind grow well and very abundantly, but do not seed, and it is always necessary to bring the seeds from Castilla, China, or Japon.

In the Cagayan provinces are found chestnut-trees, which produce fruit. In other districts are found pines and other trees which yield certain very large

or fruit enclosed in a soft covering. The tree is not very high. The leaves are large, and incline to a red color when old. The fruit is red and as large as a medium-sized quince, and has several large stones. The inside of the fruit is white, and is sweet and firm, and fragrant, but not very digestible. The wood resembles ebony, is very lustrous, and is esteemed for its solidity and hardness. The *nanca* [*nangka, nangca*; translated by Stanley, jack-fruit] (*Artocarpus integrifolia* – Willd.), was taken to the Philippines from India, where it was called *yaca*. The tree is large and wide-spreading, and has long narrow leaves. It bears fruit not only on the branches, but on the trunk and roots. The fruit is gathered when ripe, at which time it exhales an aromatic odor. On opening it a yellowish or whitish meat is found, which is not edible. But in this are found certain yellow stones, with a little kernel inside resembling a large bean; this is sweet, like the date, but has a much stronger odor. It is indigestible, and when eaten should be well masticated. The shells are used in cooking and resemble chestnuts. The wood is yellow, solid, and especially useful in making certain musical instruments. Buzeta and Bravo (*Diccionario*, i, p. 35) say that there are more than fifty-seven species of bananas in the Philippines.

pine-nuts, with a hard shell and a pleasant taste, which are called piles.[73] There is abundance of cedar which is called *calanta*, a beautiful red wood called *asana*,[74] ebony of various qualities, and many other precious woods for all uses. The meat generally eaten is that of swine, of which there is a great abundance, and it is very palatable and wholesome.

Beef is eaten, cattle being raised abundantly in stock-farms in many different parts of the islands. The cattle are bred from those of China and Nueva España.[75] The Chinese cattle are small, and excellent breeders. Their horns are very small and twisted,

[73] Pilê (*Canarium commune* – Linn.). Delgado (*ut supra*) says that this was one of the most notable and useful fruits of the islands. It was generally confined to mountainous regions and grew wild. The natives used the fruit and extracted a white pitch from the tree. The fruit has a strong, hard shell. The fruit itself resembles an almond, both in shape and taste, although it is larger. The tree is very high, straight, and wide-spreading. Its leaves are larger than those of the almond-tree.

[74] Delgado (*ut supra*) describes the tree (*Cedrela toona* – Roxb.) called *calanta* in Tagál, and *lanipga* in Visayan. The tree is fragrant and has wood of a reddish color. It was used for making the hulls of vessels, because of its strength and lightness. The same author describes also the *asana* (*Pterocarpus indicus* – Willd.) or as it is called in the Visayas, *naga* or *narra* – as an aromatic tree, of which there are two varieties, male and female. The wood of the male tree is pinkish, while that of the female tree is inclined to white. They both grow to a great size and are used for work requiring large timber. The wood has good durable qualities and is very impervious to water, for which reason it was largely used as supports for the houses. Water in which pieces of the wood were placed, or the water that stood in vessels made of this wood, had a medicinal value in dropsy and other diseases. In the provinces of Albay and Camarines the natives made curiously-shaped drinking vessels from this wood.

[75] So many cattle were raised that Father Gaspar de San Agustin, when speaking of Dumangas, says: "In this convent we have a large ranch for the larger cattle, of so many cows that they have at times numbered more than thirty thousand . . . and likewise this ranch contains many fine horses." – Rizal.

and some cattle can move them. They have a large hump upon the shoulders, and are very manageable beasts. There are plenty of fowls like those of Castilla, and others very large, which are bred from fowls brought from China. They are very palatable, and make fine capons. Some of these fowls are black in feather, skin, flesh, and bones, and are pleasant to the taste.[76] Many geese are raised, as well as swans, ducks, and tame pigeons brought from China. There is abundance of flesh of wild game, such as venison, and wild boars, and in some parts porcupines. There are many buffaloes, which are called carabaos, which are raised in the fields and are very spirited; others are brought tame from China; these are very numerous, and very handsome. These last are used only for milking, and their milk is thicker and more palatable than that of cows.

Goats and kids are raised, although their flesh is not savory, because of the humidity of the country. These animals sicken and die for that reason, and because they eat certain poisonous herbs. Ewes and rams, although often brought from Nueva España, never multiply. Consequently there are none of these animals, for the climate and pasturage has not as yet seemed suitable for them.[77] There were no horses, mares, or asses in the islands, until the Spaniards had them brought from China and brought them from Nueva España. Asses and mules are very rare, but there are many horses and mares. Some farms are being stocked with them, and those born there (mixed

[76] To the flesh of this fowl, called in Tagál *ulikbâ*, are attributed medicinal virtues.– RIZAL.

[77] These animals now [1890] exist in the islands, but are held in small esteem.– RIZAL.

breeds for the most part) turn out well, and have good colors, are good tempered and willing to work, and are of medium size. Those brought from China are small, very strong, good goers, treacherous, quarrelsome, and bad-tempered. Some horses of good colors are brought from Japon. They have well-shaped bodies, thick hair, large fetlocks, large legs and front hoofs, which makes them look like draft-horses. Their heads are rather large, and their mouths hard. They run but slowly, but walk well, and are spirited, and of much mettle. The daily feed of the horses consists throughout the year of green provender,[78] besides rice in the husk, which keeps them very fat.[79]

There are many fowls and field birds, and wild birds of wonderful colors and very beautiful. There are no singing birds suitable for keeping in cages, although some calendar larks [*Calandrias*] called *fimbaros*,[80] smaller than those of España, are brought from Japon, whose song is most sweet. There are many turtle-doves, ring-doves; other doves with an extremely green plumage, and red feet and beaks; and others that are white with a red spot on the breast, like a pelican. Instead of quail, there are

[78] See chapter on the mammals of the islands, in *Report* of U. S. Philippine Commission, 1900, iii, pp. 307-312. At its end is the statement that but one species of monkey is known, and one other is reported, to exist in the Philippines; and that "the various other species of monkey which have been assigned to the Philippines by different authors are myths pure and simple."

[79] *Camalote*, for *gamalote*, a plant like maize, with a leaf a yard long and an inch wide. This plant grows to a height of two yards and a half, and when green serves for food for horses (Caballero's *Dictionary*, Madrid, 1856).– STANLEY.

At that time the name for *zacate* (hay).– RIZAL.

[80] In Japanese *fimbari*, larks (Medhurst's *Japanese Vocabulary*).– STANLEY.

certain birds resembling them, but smaller, which are called *povos*[81] and other smaller birds called mayuelas.[82] There are many wild chickens and cocks, which are very small, and taste like partridge. There are royal, white, and grey herons, flycatchers, and other shore birds, ducks, lavancos,[83] crested cranes, sea-crows, eagles, eagle-owls, and other birds of prey, although none are used for hawking. There are jays and thrushes as in España, and white storks and cranes.[84] They do not rear peacocks, rabbits, or hares, although they have tried to do so. It is believed that the wild animals in the forests and fields eat and destroy them, namely, the cats, foxes, badgers, and large and small rats, which are very numerous, and other land animals.[85]

[81] *Pogos*, from the Tagál *pugô*.– RIZAL.

Delgado (*ut supra*) describes the pogos as certain small gray birds, very similar to the sparrows in Spain. They are very greedy, and if undisturbed would totally destroy the rice-fields. Their scientific name is *Excalfactoria chinensis* (Linn.).

[82] Stanley conjectures that this word is a misprint for *maynelas*, a diminutive of *maina*, a talking bird. Delgado (*ut supra*) describes a bird called *maya* (*Munia jagori* – Cab.; *Ploceus baya* – Blyth.; and *Ploceus hypoxantha* – Tand.), which resembles the pogo, being smaller and of a cinnamon color, which pipes and has an agreeable song.

[83] Stanley translates this as "wild ducks." Delgado (*ut supra*) describes a bird called *lapay* (*Dendrocygna vagans* – Eyton.), as similar to the duck in body, but with larger feet, which always lives in the water, and whose flesh is edible.

[84] For descriptions of the birds in the Philippines, see Delgado (*ut supra*) book v, part i, 1st treatise, pp. 813-853; *Report* of U. S. Philippine Commission, 1900, iii, pp. 312-316; and *Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1902), pp. 170, 171. There are more than five hundred and ninety species of birds in the islands, of which three hundred and twenty-five are peculiar to the archipelago, and largely land birds. There are thirty-five varieties of doves and pigeons, all edible.

[85] There are now domestic rabbits, and plenty of peacocks.– RIZAL.

Throughout these islands are found a great number of monkeys, of various sizes, with which at times the trees are covered. There are green and white parrots, but they are stupid in talking; and very small parroquets, of beautiful green and red colors, which talk as little. The forests and settlements have many serpents, of various colors, which are generally larger than those of Castilla. Some have been seen in the forests of unusual size, and wonderful to behold.[86] The most harmful are certain slender snakes, of less than one vara in length, which dart down upon passersby from the trees (where they generally hang), and sting them; their venom is so powerful that within twenty-four hours the person dies raving.

There are many very large scorpions in the rivers and creeks, and a great number of crocodiles, which are very bloodthirsty and cruel. They quite commonly pull from their bancas the natives who go in those boats, and cause many injuries among the horned cattle and the horses of the stock-farms, when they go to drink. And although the people fish for them often and kill them, they are never diminished in number. For that reason, the natives set closely-grated divisions and enclosures in the rivers and creeks of their settlements, where they bathe. There they enter the water to bathe, secure from those monsters, which they fear so greatly that they venerate and adore them, as if they were beings superior to themselves. All their oaths and execrations, and those which are of any weight with them (even among the Christians) are, thus expressed: "So may

[86] Doubtless the python, which is often domesticated in the Philippines. See VOL. XII, p. 259, note 73.

the crocodile kill him!" They call the crocodile *buhaya* in their language. It has happened when some one has sworn falsely, or when he has broken his word, that then some accident has occurred to him with the crocodile, which God, whom he offends, has so permitted for the sake of the authority and purity of the truth, and the promise of it.[87]

The fisheries of sea and rivers are most abundant, and include all kinds of fish; both of fresh and salt water. These are generally used as food throughout the entire country. There are many good sardines, sea-eels, sea-breams (which they call *bacocos*), daces, skates, *bicudas*, *tanguingues*, soles, *plantanos*,[88] *taraquitos*, needle-fish, gilt-heads, and eels; large oysters, mussels,[89] *porçebes*, crawfish, shrimp, sea-spiders, center-fish, and all kinds of cockles, shad, white fish, and in the Tajo River of Cagayan,[90] during their season, a great number of *bobos*, which

[87] La Gironiére (*Twenty Years in the Philippines* – trans. from French, London, 1853) describes an interesting fight with a huge crocodile near his settlement of Jala-Jala. The natives begged for the flesh in order to dry it and use it as a specific against asthma, as they believed that any asthmatic person who lived on the flesh for a certain time would be infallibly cured. Another native wished the fat as an antidote for rheumatic pain. The head of this huge reptile was presented to an American, who in turn presented it to the Boston Museum. Unfortunately La Gironiére's picturesque descriptions must often be taken with a grain of salt. For some information regarding the reptiles of the islands see *Report* of U. S. Philippine Commission, 1900, iii, pp. 317-319.

[88] Unless we are mistaken, there is a fish in the Filipinas called *Pámpano*.– RIZAL.

[89] For catalogue and scientific description of the mollusks of the Philippines, see the work of Joaquín González Hidalgo – now (1904) in course of publication by the Real Academia de Ciencias of Madrid – *Estudios preliminares sobre la fauna malacológica de las Islas Filipinas*.

[90] The Río Grande.– RIZAL.

come down to spawn at the bar. In the lake of Bonbon, a quantity of tunny-fish, not so large as those of España, but of the same shape, flesh, and taste, are caught. Many sea-fish are found in the sea, such as whales, sharks, *caellas*, *marajos*, *bufeos*, and other unknown species of extraordinary forms and size. In the year of five hundred and ninety-six, during a furious storm in the islands, a fish was flung into shallow water on one of the Luzon coasts near the province of Camarines. It was so huge and misshapen, that although it lay in more than three and one-half braças of water, it could not again get afloat, and died there. The natives said that they had never seen anything like it, nor another shaped like it. Its head was of wonderful size and fierce aspect. On its frontal it bore two horns, which pointed toward its back. One of them was taken to Manila. It was covered with its skin or hide, but had no hair or scales. It was white, and twenty feet long. Where it joined the head it was as thick as the thigh, and gradually tapered proportionally to the tip. It was somewhat curved and not very round; and to all appearances, quite solid. It caused great wonder in all beholders.[91]

There is a fresh-water lake in the island of Luzon, five leguas from Manila, which contains a quantity of fish. Many rivers flow into this lake, and it empties into the sea through the river flowing from it to Manila. It is called La Laguna de Bay ["Bay Lake"]. It is thirty leguas in circumference, and has an uninhabited island in its middle, where game abounds.[92] Its shores are lined with many native vil-

[91] No fish is known answering to this description.– STANLEY.

[92] The island of Talim.– RIZAL.

lages. The natives navigate the lake, and commonly cross it in their skiffs. At times it is quite stormy and dangerous to navigate, when the north winds blow, for these winds make it very boisterous, although it is very deep.

Twenty leguas from Manila, in the province of Bonbon, is another lake of the same name [Bonbon], not so extensive as the former, but with a great abundance of fish. The natives' method of catching them is by making corrals[93] of bejucos, which are certain slender canes or rushes, solid and very pliant and strong; these are employed for making cables for the natives' boats, as well as other kinds of ropes. They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the *bejucos*, but most generally with *atarrayas*,[94] *esparaveles*, other small *barrederas*,[95] and with hand lines and hooks.[96] The most usual food of the natives is a fish as small as *pejerreyes*.[97] They dry and cure these fish in the sun and air, and cook them in many styles. They like them better than large fish. It is called *laulau* among them.[98]

[93] Retana thinks (*Zúñiga*, ii, p. 545*) that this device was introduced among the Filipinos by the Borneans.

[94] A species of fishing-net. Stanley's conjecture is wrong.

[95] *Esparavel* is a round fishing-net, which is jerked along by the fisher through rivers and shallow places. *Barredera* is a net of which the meshes are closer and tighter than those of common nets, so that the smallest fish may not escape it.

[96] Cf. methods of fishing of North American Indians, *Jesuit Relations*, vi, pp. 309-311, liv, pp. 131, 306-307.

[97] A species of fish in the Mediterranean, about three pulgadas [inches] long. Its color is silver, lightly specked with black.

[98] The fish now called *lawlaw* is the dry, salted sardine. The

Instead of olives and other pickled fruit, they have a green fruit, like walnuts, which they call *paos*.[99] Some are small, and others larger in size, and when prepared they have a pleasant taste. They also prepare *charas*[100] in pickle brine, and all sorts of vegetables and greens, which are very appetizing. There is much ginger, and it is eaten green, pickled, and preserved. There are also quantities of *cachumba*[101] instead of saffron and other condiments. The ordinary dainty throughout these islands, and in many kingdoms of the mainland of those regions, is *buyo* [betel]. This is made from a tree,[102] whose leaf is shaped like that of the mulberry. The fruit resembles an oak acorn, and is white inside.[103] This

author evidently alludes to the *tawilis* of Batangas, or to the *dilis*, which is still smaller, and is used as a staple by the natives.– RIZAL.

For information regarding the fishes of the Philippines, see Delgado (*ut supra*), book v, part iv, pp. 909-943; *Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* (*ut supra*), pp. 171-172; and (with description of methods of fishing) *Report* of U. S. Philippine Commission, 1900, iii, pp. 319-324.

[99] Pahõ. A species of very small mango from one and one-half to five centimeters in its longer diameter. It has a soft pit, and exhales a strong pitchy odor.– RIZAL.

[100] A Spanish word signifying a cryptogamous plant; perhaps referring to some species of mushroom.

[101] In Tagál this is *kasubhã*. It comes from the Sanskrit *kasumbha*, or Malay *kasumba* (Pardo de Tavera's *El Sanscrito en la lengua tagalog*).– RIZAL.

This plant is the safflower or bastard saffron (*Certhamus tinctorius*); its flowers are used in making a red dye.

[102] Not a tree, but a climber. The plants are cultivated by training them about some canes planted in the middle of certain little channels which serve to convey irrigation to the plant twice each day. A plantation of betel – or *ikmó*, as the Tagáls call it – much resembles a German hop-garden.– RIZAL.

[103] This fruit is not that of the betel or *buyo*, but of the *bonga* (Tagál *buñga*), or areca palm.– RIZAL.

fruit, which is called *bonga*, is cut lengthwise in strips, and each strip is put into an envelope or covering made from the leaf. With the *bonga* is thrown in a powder of quick lime.[104] This compound is placed in the mouth and chewed. It is so strong a mixture, and burns so much, that it induces sleep and intoxication. It burns the mouths of those not used to it, and causes them to smart. The saliva and all the mouth are made as red as blood. It does not taste bad. After having been chewed [105] for a considerable time it is spit out, when it no longer has any juice, which is called çapa [sapá]. They consider very beneficial that quantity of the juice which has gone into the stomach, for strengthening it, and for various diseases. It strengthens and preserves the teeth and gums from all inflammations, decay, and aches. They tell other wonderful effects of it. What has been seen is that the natives and Spaniards – laymen and religious, men and women – use it so commonly and generally that mornings and afternoons, at parties and visits, and even alone in their houses, all their refreshments and luxuries consist of buyos served on heavily-gilded and handsomely adorned plates and trays like chocolate in Nueva España. In these poison has been often administered from which the persons eating them have died, and that quite commonly.

The natives (especially the chiefs) take whenever they leave their houses, for show and entertainment,

[104] Not quicklime, but well slaked lime.– RIZAL.
Rizal misprints *un poco de cal viva* for *vn poluc de cal viua.*

[105] The original word is *marcada.* Rizal is probably correct in regarding it as a misprint for *mascada,* chewed.

their boxes of buyos – which they call *buccetas*[106] – ready to use, and the leaf, *bonga*, and quick lime, separately. With these handsome boxes, which are made of metal and of other materials, they carry the scissors and other tools for making the buyo with cleanliness and neatness. Wherever they may stop, they make and use their buyo. In the pariáns, or bazars, buyos are sold ready made, and the outfit for making them.[107]

The natives of these islands quite commonly use as venoms and poisons the herbs of that class found throughout the islands. They are so efficacious and deadly that they produce wonderful effects. There is a lizard, commonly found in the houses, somewhat dark-green in color, one palmo long, and as thick as three fingers, which is called *chacon*.[108] They put this in a joint of bamboo, and cover it up. The slaver of this animal during its imprisonment is gathered. It is an exceedingly strong poison, when introduced as above stated, in the food or drink, in however minute quantities. There are various herbs known and gathered by the natives for the same use. Some of them are used dry, and others green; some are to be mixed in food, and others inhaled. Some kill by simply touching them with the hands or feet, or by sleeping upon them. The natives are so skilful in making compounds from these substances, that they mix and apply them in such a manner that they take

[106] It is not clear who call these caskets by that name. I imagine it to be the Spanish name, properly spelt *buxeta*. The king of Calicut's betel box is called *buxen* in the Barcelona MS. of the Malabar coasts.– STANLEY.

[107] See VOL. IV, p. 222, note 31; also Delgado (*ut supra*), pp. 667-669. Delgado says that *bonga* signifies fruit.

[108] Tagál, *tukõ*.– RIZAL.

effect at once, or at a set time – long or short, as they wish, even after a year. Many persons usually die wretchedly by these means – especially Spaniards, who lack foresight, and who are tactless and hated because of the ill-treatment that they inflict upon the natives with whom they deal, either in the collection of their tributes, or in other matters in which they employ them, without there being any remedy for it. There are certain poisonous herbs, with which, when the natives gather them, they carry, all ready, other herbs which act as antidotes. In the island of Bohol is one herb of such nature that the natives approach it from windward when they cut it from the shrub on which it grows; for the very air alone that blows over the herb is deadly. Nature did not leave this danger without a remedy, for other herbs and roots are found in the same islands, of so great efficacy and virtue that they destroy and correct the poison and mischief of the others, and are used when needed. Accordingly, when one knows what poison has been given him, it is not difficult, if recourse be had in time, to cure it, by giving the herb that is antidotal to such poison. At times it has happened that pressure has been put upon the person suspected of having committed the evil to make him bring the antidote, by which it has been remedied. There are also other general antidotes, both for preservation against poison and for mitigating the effects of poison that has been administered. But the most certain and efficacious antidotes are certain small flies or insects, of a violet color, found on certain bushes in the islands of Pintados. These are shut up in a clean bamboo joint, and covered over. There they breed and multiply. Ground rice is put in with them, and they exist there-

on. Every week they are visited [109] and the old rice removed and new rice put in, and they are kept alive by this means. If six of these insects are taken in a spoonful of wine or water – for they emit no bad odor, and taste like cress – they produce a wonderful effect. Even when people go to banquets or dinners where there is any suspicion, they are wont to take with them these insects, in order to preserve and assure themselves from any danger of poison and venom.

All these islands are, in many districts, rich in placers and mines of gold, a metal which the natives dig and work. However, since the advent of the Spaniards in the land, the natives proceed more slowly in this, and content themselves with what they already possess in jewels and gold ingots, handed down from antiquity and inherited from their ancestors.[110] This is considerable, for he must be poor and wretched who has no gold chains, calombigas [bracelets], and earrings.

Some placers and mines were worked at Paracali in the province of Camarines, where there is good gold

[109] This word in the original is *vifitandolas*; Rizal makes it *irritandolas* (shaking or irritating them), but there are not sufficient grounds for the change.

[110] The Indians, upon seeing that wealth excited the rapacity of the encomenderos and soldiers, abandoned the working of the mines, and the religious historians assert that they counseled them to a similar action in order to free them from annoyances. Nevertheless, according to Colin (who was "informed by well-disposed natives") more than 100,000 pesos of gold annually, conservatively stated, was taken from the mines during his time, after eighty years of abandonment. According to "a manuscript of a grave person who had lived long in these islands" the first tribute of the two provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan alone amounted to 109,500 pesos. A single encomendero, in 1587, sent 3,000 taheles of gold in the "Santa Ana," which was captured by Cavendish.– RIZAL.

mixed with copper. This commodity is also traded in the Ylocos, for at the rear of this province, which borders the seacoast, are certain lofty and rugged mountains which extend as far as Cagayan. On the slopes of these mountains, in the interior, live many natives, as yet unsubdued, and among whom no incursion has been made, who are called Ygolotes. These natives possess rich mines, many of gold and silver mixed. They are wont to dig from them only the amount necessary for their wants. They descend to certain places to trade this gold (without completing its refining or preparation), with the Ylocos; there they exchange it for rice, swine, carabaos, cloth, and other things that they need.[111] The Ylocos complete its refining and preparation, and by their medium it is distributed throughout the country. Although an effort has been made with these Ygolotes to discover their mines, and how they work them, and their method of working the metal, nothing definite has been learned, for the Ygolotes fear that the Spaniards will go to seek them for their gold, and say that they keep the gold better in the earth than in their houses.[112]

There are also many gold mines and placers in the other islands, especially among the Pintados, on the Botuan River in Mindanao, and in Sebu, where a mine of good gold is worked, called Taribon. If the

[111] This was prohibited later.– RIZAL.

[112] See VOL. XIV, pp. 301-304.

According to Hernando de los Rios the province of Pangasinan was said to contain a quantity of gold, and that Guido de Labazaris sent some soldiers to search for it; but they returned in a sickly state and suppressed all knowledge of the mines in order not to be sent back there. The Dominican monks also suppressed all knowledge of the mines on account of the tyranny of which gold had been the cause in the West Indies.– STANLEY.

industry and efforts of the Spaniards were to be converted into the working of the gold, as much would be obtained from any one of these islands as from those provinces which produce the most in the world. But since they attend to other means of gain rather than to this, as will be told in due time, they do not pay the proper attention to this matter.

In some of these islands pearl oysters are found, especially in the Calamianes, where some have been obtained that are large and exceedingly clear and lustrous.[113] Neither is this means of profit utilized. In all parts, seed pearls are found in the ordinary oysters, and there are oysters as large as a buckler. From the [shells of the] latter the natives manufacture beautiful articles. There are also very large sea turtles in all the islands. Their shells are utilized by the natives, and sold as an article of commerce to the Chinese and Portuguese, and other nations who go after them and esteem them highly, because of the beautiful things made from them.

On the coasts of any of these islands are found many small white snail shells, called *siguei*. The natives gather them and sell them by measure to the Siamese, Cambodians, Pantanes, and other peoples of the mainland. It serves there as money, and those nations trade with it, as they do with cacao-beans in Nueva España.[114]

Carabao horns are used as merchandise in trading

[113] Pearl-fishing is still carried on along the coasts of Mindanao and Palawan, and in the Sulu archipelago. In the latter region pearls are very abundant and often valuable; the fisheries there are under the control of the sultan of Sulu, who rents them, appropriating for himself the largest pearls.

[114] Probably the cowry (*Cypræa moneta*). Crawfurd states (*Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 117) that in the Asiatic archipelago this shell is found only on the shores of the Sulu group, and that it

with China; and deerskins and dye-wood with Japon. The natives make use of everything in trading with those nations and derive much profit therefrom.

In this island of Luzon, especially in the provinces of Manila, Panpanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, certain earthenware jars [*tibores*] are found among the natives. They are very old, of a brownish color, and not handsome. Some are of medium size, and others are smaller, and they have certain marks and stamps. The natives are unable to give any explanation of where or when they got them, for now they are not brought to the islands or made there. The Japanese seek them and esteem them, for they have found that the root of a plant called *cha* [tea] – which is drunk hot, as a great refreshment and medicine, among the kings and lords of Japon – is preserved and keeps only in these tibors. These are so highly valued throughout Japon, that they are regarded as the most precious jewels of their closets and household furniture. A tibor is worth a great sum, and the Japanese adorn them outside with fine gold beautifully chased, and keep them in brocade cases. Some tibors are valued and sold for two thousand taes of eleven reals to the tae, or for less, according to the quality of the tibor. It makes no difference if they are cracked or chipped, for that does not hinder them from holding the tea. The natives of these islands sell them to the Japanese for the best price possible, and seek them carefully for this profit. However, few are found now, because of the assiduity with which the natives have applied themselves to that search.[115]

"seems never to have been used for money among the Indian Islanders as it has immemorially been by the Hindus."

[115] Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (Eng. trans., London,

At times the natives have found large pieces of ambergris on the coasts. When they discovered that the Spaniards value it, they gathered it, and have made profit from it. The past year of six hundred and two, some natives found in the island of Sebu a good-sized piece of ambergris, and when their encomendero heard of it, he took it, and traded with them secretly for it, on the account of their tribute. It is said that it weighed a good number of libras. Afterward he brought it out and sold it by the ounce at a higher rate.[116]

In the province and river of Butuan – which is pacified and assigned to Spaniards, and is located in the island of Mindanao – the natives practice another industry, which is very useful. As they possess many civet cats, although smaller than those of Guinea, they make use of the civet and trade it. This they do easily, for, when the moon is in the crescent, they hunt the cats with nets, and capture many of them. Then when they have obtained the civet, they loose the cats. They also capture and cage some of them, which are sold in the islands at very low prices.[117]

1875), devotes a portion of his chapter xv to these jars. He mentions the great prices paid by the Japanese for these vessels. On p. 164, occurs a translation of the above paragraph, but it has been mistranslated in two places. Stanley cites the similar jars found among the Dyaks of Borneo – the best called *gusih* – which were valued at from $1,500 to $3,000, while the second grade were sold for $400. That they are very ancient is proved by one found among other remains of probably the copper age. From the fact that they have been found in Cambodia, Siam, Cochinchina, and the Philippines, Rizal conjectures that the peoples of these countries may have had a common center of civilization at one time.

[116] "Not many years ago," says Colin (1663), "a large piece [of ambergris] was found in the island of Joló, that weighed more than eight arrobas, of the best kind, namely, the gray."– RIZAL.

[117] This industry must now be forgotten, for it is never heard of.– RIZAL.

Cotton is raised abundantly throughout the islands. It is spun and sold in the skein to the Chinese and other nations, who come to get it. Cloth of different patterns is also woven from it, and the natives also trade that. Other cloths, called medriñaques, are woven from the banana leaf.[118]

The islands of Babuytanes [119] consist of many small islands lying off the upper coast of the province of Cagayan. They are inhabited by natives, whose chief industry consists in going to Cagayan, in their tapaques, with swine, fowls, and other food, and ebony spears, for exchange. The islands are not assigned as encomiendas, nor is any tribute collected from them. There are no Spaniards among them, as those natives are of less understanding and less civilized [than the others]. Accordingly no Christians have been made among them, and they have no justices.

Other islands, called the Catenduanes, lie off the other head of the island of Luzon, opposite the province of Camarines, in fourteen degrees of north latitude, near the strait of Espiritu Santo. They are islands densely populated with natives of good disposition, who are all assigned to Spaniards. They possess instruction and churches, and have an alcalde-mayor who administers justice to them. Most of them cultivate the soil, but some are engaged in gold-washing, and in trading between various islands, and with the mainland of Luzon, very near those islands.[120]

[118] Perhaps Morga alludes to the *sinamay*, which was woven from abaká, or filament of the plant *Musa textilis*. The abaká is taken from the trunk and not the leaf.– RIZAL.

[119] This name seems to be Malay, *Babu-utan*, wild swine.– STANLEY.

[120] The men of these islands were excellent carpenters and ship-

The island of Luzon has a bay thirty leguas in circumference on its southern coast, situated about one hundred leguas from the cape of Espiritu Santo, which is the entrance to the Capul channel. Its entrance is narrow, and midway contains an island called Miraveles [*i.e.*, Corregidor] lying obliquely across it, which makes the entrance narrow. This island is about two leguas long and one-half legua wide. It is high land and well shaded by its many trees. It contains a native settlement of fifty persons, and there the watchman of the bay has his fixed abode and residence. There are channels at both ends of the island, where one may enter the bay. The one at the south is one-half legua wide, and has a rock in its middle called El Fraile ["the friar"]. The one on the north is much narrower, but any ships of any

builders. "They make many very light vessels, which they take through the vicinity for sale in a very curious manner. They build a large vessel, undecked, without iron nail or any fastening. Then, according to the measure of its hull, they make another vessel that fits into it. Within that they put a second and a third. Thus a large biroco contains ten or twelve vessels, called biroco, virey, barangay, and binitan." These natives were "tattooed, and were excellent rowers and sailors; and although they are upset often, they never drown." The women are very masculine. "They do not drink from the rivers, although the water is very clear, because it gives them nausea. . . . The women's costumes are chaste and pretty, for they wear petticoats in the Bisayan manner, of fine medriñaque, and *lamboncillos*, which resemble close-fitting sayuelos [*i.e.*, woolen shifts worn by certain classes of religious]. They wear long robes of the same fine medriñaque. They gather the hair, which is neatly combed, into a knot, on top of the head, and place a rose in it. On their forehead they wear a band of very fine wrought gold, two fingers wide. It is very neatly worked and on the side encircling the head it is covered with colored taffeta. In each ear they wear three gold earrings, one in the place where Spanish women wear them, and two higher up. On their feet they wear certain coverings of thin brass, which sound when they walk." (The citations herein are from Colin.) These islands have also retrograded.—RIZAL.

draft whatever can enter and go out by both channels. The entire bay is of good depth, and clean, and has good anchorages in all parts. It is eight leguas from these entrances to the colony of Manila and the bar of the river. A large harbor is formed two leguas south of Manila, with a point of land that shelters it. That point has a native settlement called Cabit,[121] and it gives name to the harbor, which is used as a port for the vessels. It is very capacious and well sheltered from the vendavals – whether the south-east, and southwest, the west, and west-southwest, or the north-northeast and north winds. It has a good anchorage, with a clean and good bottom. There is a good entrance quite near the land, more than one and one-half leguas wide, for the ingress and egress of vessels. All the shores of this bay are well provided with abundant fisheries, of all kinds. They are densely inhabited by natives. Above Manila there is a province of more than twenty leguas in extent called La Pampanga. This province possesses many rivers and creeks that irrigate it. They all flow and empty into the bay. This province contains many settlements of natives, and considerable quantities of rice, fruits, fish, meat, and other foods.[122]

[121] Cavite derives its name from the Tagál word *cavit*, a creek, or bend, or hook, for such is its form.– STANLEY.

[122] This province had decreased so greatly in population and agriculture, a half century later, that Gaspar de San Agustin said: "Now it no longer has the population of the past, because of the insurrection of that province, when Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara was governor of these islands, and because of the incessant cutting of the timber for the building of his Majesty's ships, which prevents them from cultivating their extremely fertile plain." Later, when speaking of Guagua or Wawà, he says: "This town was formerly very wealthy because of its many chiefs, and because of the abundant harvests gathered in its spacious plains, which are now submerged by the water of the sea."– RIZAL.

The bar of the river of Manila, which is in the same bay, near the colony of Manila on one side and Tondo on the other, is not very deep because of certain sand shoals on it, which change their position at the time of the freshets and obstruct it. Consequently, although the water is deep enough for any vessel past the bar, still, unless they are fragatas, vireys, or other small vessels, they cannot pass the bar to enter the river. In respect to galleys, galliots, and the vessels from China, which draw but little water, they must enter empty, and at high tide, and by towing. Such vessels anchor in the bay outside the bar, and, for greater security enter the port of Cabit.

There is another good port called Ybalon,[123] twenty leguas from the channel of the same island of Luzon, which is sheltered from the vendavals, and has a good entrance and anchorage. There the vessels that enter to escape the vendaval find shelter, and wait until the brisa returns, by which to go to Manila, eighty leguas away.

On the coasts of Pangasinan, Ylocos, and Cagayan, there are some ports and bars, where ships can enter and remain, such as the harbor of Marihuma,[124] the port El Frayle ["the friar"],[125] that of Bolinao, the bar of Pangasinan, that of Bigan, the bar of Camalayuga, at the mouth of the Tajo River (which goes up two leguas to the chief settlement of Cagayan) – besides other rivers, bars, harbors, and shelters of less account for smaller vessels throughout the coasts of this island.

Quite near this large island of Luzon, many other

[123] Now the port of Sorsogón.– RIZAL.

[124] Now the port of Mariveles (?).– RIZAL.

[125] Subik (?).– RIZAL.

islands, large and small, are located; they are inhabited by the same natives as Luzon, who have gold placers, sowed fields, and their trading. Such are Marinduque, Tablas Island, Mazbate, Burias, Banton, Bantonillo, and others of less importance. The nearest of them to Manila is the island of Mindoro. It is more than eighty leguas long and about two hundred in circumference. It has many settlements of the same natives, and the side lying next the provinces of Balayan and Calilaya is so near and close to the island of Luzon, that it forms a strait which contains powerful currents and races, through which the ships going to and from Manila enter and leave. The winds and currents there are very strong. It is about one-half a legua wide. In that part is the chief town of this island of Mindoro. It has a port that is called El Varadero [" the place for laying up ships "] for large vessels. There are also other anchorages and bars throughout this island for smaller vessels; and many settlements and natives on all the coasts of this island. All of the settlements abound in rice, food, and gold-placers, and all kinds of game and timber.[126]

The cape of Espiritu Santo, which is sighted by ships entering the Filipinas Islands on the way from Nueva España, is in an island called Tendaya,[127] in

[126] Mindoro is at present [1890] so depopulated that the minister of the Colonies, in order to remedy this result of Spanish colonization, wishes to send there the worst desperadoes of the peninsula, to see if great criminals will make good colonists and farmers. All things considered, given the condition of those who go, it is indubitable that the race that succeeds must know how to defend itself and live, so that the island may not be depopulated again.– RIZAL.

[127] Samar. This proves contrary to the opinion of Colin, who places Tendaya in Leite.– RIZAL.

about thirteen degrees. Twenty leguas south after turning this cape of Espiritu Santo lie the island of Viri, and many others which are sighted. Through them an entrance opens to the island of Sebu by a strait called San Juanillo, which is formed by these islands. It is not very good or safe for the larger ships. But toward the north after leaving this course, one reaches the island of Capul, which forms a strait and channel of many currents and rough waves, through which the ships enter. Before reaching the strait there is a rock, or barren islet, called San Bernardino; this strait is formed by the coast of the island of Luzon and that of the island of Capul. Its channel is about one legua long and less wide.

On leaving this strait, after having entered by it, three small islets form a triangle. They are called the islands of Naranjos ["Oranges"], and are lofty and inaccessible with steep rocks. Upon them ships are wont to be driven by the powerful currents, even though they try to escape them. These are not inhabited, but the others [Capul, Viri, etc.] are large islands containing many settlements of natives and all kinds of provisions and food.

South of this district lie the islands of Biçayas, or, as they are also called, Pintados. They are many in number, thickly populated with natives. Those of most renown are Leite, Ybabao,[128] Camar [Samar], Bohol, island of Negros, Sebu, Panay, Cuyo, and the Calamianes. All the natives of these islands, both men and women, are well-featured, of a good disposition, and of better nature, and more noble in their actions than the inhabitants of the islands of Luzon and its vicinity.

[128] Southeastern part of Samar.—RIZAL.

They differ from them in their hair, which the men wear cut in a cue, like the ancient style in España. Their bodies are tattooed with many designs, but the face is not touched.[129] They wear large earrings of gold and ivory in their ears, and bracelets of the same; certain scarfs wrapped round the head, very showy, which resemble turbans, and knotted very gracefully and edged with gold. They wear also a loose collarless jacket with tight sleeves, whose skirts reach half way down the leg. These garments are fastened in front and are made of medriñaque and colored silks. They wear no shirts or drawers, but bahaques [*i.e.*, breech-clouts] of many wrappings, which cover their privy parts, when they remove their skirts and jackets. The women are good-looking and graceful. They are very neat, and walk slowly. Their hair is black, long, and drawn into a knot on the head. Their robes are wrapped about the waist and fall downward. These are made of all colors, and they wear collarless jackets of the same material. Both men and women go naked and without any coverings,[130] and barefoot, and with

[129] Colin says, however, that they did tattoo the chins and about the eyes [*barbas y cejas*]. The same author states also that the tattooing was done little by little and not all at once. "The children were not tattooed, but the women tattooed one hand and part of the other. In this island of Manila the Ilocos also tattooed themselves, although not so much as did the Visayans." The Negritos, Igorrotes, and other independent tribes of the Filipinas still tattoo themselves. The Christians have forgotten the practice. The Filipinas used only the black color, thus differing from the Japanese, who employ different colors, as red and blue, and carry the art to a rare perfection. In other islands of the Pacific, the women tattoo themselves almost as much as the men. Dr. Wilhelm Joest's *Tätowiren Narbenzeichnen und Körperbemahlen* (Berlin, 1887) treats the matter very succinctly.– RIZAL.

[130] This is a confused statement, after what just precedes it

many gold chains, earrings, and wrought bracelets.

Their weapons consist of large knives curved like cutlasses, spears, and caraças [*i.e.,* shields]. They employ the same kinds of boats as the inhabitants of Luzon. They have the same occupations, products, and means of gain as the inhabitants of all the other islands. These Visayans are a race less inclined to agriculture, and are skilful in navigation, and eager for war and raids for pillage and booty, which they call *mangubas.*[131] This means "to go out for plunder."

Near the principal settlement of the island of Sebu, there is a fine port for all manner of vessels. It has a good entrance and furnishes shelter at all times. It has a good bottom and is an excellent anchorage. There are also other ports and bars of less importance and consideration, as in all these islands, for smaller vessels.

This island of Sebu is an island of more than one hundred leguas in circumference. It has abundance of provisions, and gold mines and placers, and is inhabited by natives.

Beyond it lie other islands, very pleasant and well populated, especially the island of Panay. Panay is a large island, more than one hundred leguas in circumference, containing many native settlements.[132] It

and according to the evidence of Father Chirino (see VOL. XII, chapter vii). Morga must mean that they wore no cloak or covering when they went outside the house, as did the Tagáls (both men and women), who used a kind of cape.– RIZAL. [This is the sense in which Stanley understood and translated this passage.]

[131] *Gûbat*, grove, field, in Tagál. *Mangubat* [so printed in the text of Rizal's edition] signifies in Tagál "to go hunting, or to the wood," or even "to fight."– RIZAL.

[132] "At the arrival of the Spaniards at this island (Panay)"

produces considerable quantities of rice, palm-wine, and all manner of provisions. It has flourishing and wealthy settlements, on what is called the river of Panay. The chief one is Oton, which has a bar and port for galleys and ships, shipyards for building large ships, and a great amount of timber for their construction. There are many natives, who are masters of all kinds of shipbuilding. Near this island lies an islet eight leguas in circumference, which is densely populated by natives who are all carpenters. They are excellent workmen, and practice no other trade or occupation; and, without a single tree of any size on this whole islet, they practice this art with great ability. From there all the islands are furnished with workmen for carpentry. The island is called that of the Cagayanes.

After the island of Sebu follow immediately the island of Mindanao, an island of more than three hundred leguas in circumference, and Joló, which is small. Lower down is the island of Borneo, a very large island, more than five hundred leguas in circumference. All of these islands are densely populated, although that of Borneo is not subdued. Neither is that of Mindanao in entirety, but only the river of Botuan, Dapitan, and the province and coast of Caragan.

Below this island [Mindanao], before reaching that of Borneo, lie the islands of the Calamianes.

says San Agustín, "it was said to have more than 50,000 families. But they decreased greatly . . . . and at present it has about 14,000 tributarios – 6,000 apportioned to the crown, and 8,000 to individual encomenderos." They had many gold-mines, and obtained gold by washing the sand in the Panay River; "but instigated by the outrages received from the alcaldes-mayor," says the same historian, "they have ceased to dig it, preferring to live in poverty than to endure such troubles."– RIZAL.

They are very numerous, and consist of islands of various sizes, which are densely inhabited with natives; they have some supply of provisions and engage in certain kinds of husbandry. However the most usual occupation is that of their navigations from island to island in pursuit of their trading and exchange, and their fisheries; while those who live nearest the island of Borneo are wont to go on piratical raids and pillage the natives in other islands.

The flow- and ebb-tides, and the high and low tides among these islands are so diverse in them that they have no fixed rule, either because of the powerful currents among these islands, or by some other natural secret of the flux and reflux which the moon causes. No definite knowledge has been arrived at in this regard, for although the tides are highest during the opposition of the moon, and are higher in the month of March than throughout the rest of the year, there is so great variation in the daily tides that it causes surprise. Some days there are two equal tides between day and night, while other days there is but one. At other times the flow during the day is low, and that of the night greater. They usually have no fixed hour, for it may happen to be high-tide one day at noon, while next day high-tide may be anticipated or postponed many hours. Or the tide of one day may be low, and when a smaller one is expected for next day, it may be much greater.

The language of all the Pintados and Biçayas is one and the same, by which they understand one another when talking, or when writing with the letters and characters of their own which they possess. These resemble those of the Arabs. The common manner of writing among the natives is on leaves of trees, and

on bamboo bark. Throughout the islands the bamboo is abundant; it has huge and misshapen joints, and lower part is a very thick and solid tree.[133]

The language of Luzon and those islands in its vicinity differs widely from that of the Bicayas.[134] The language of the island of Luzon is not uniform, for the Cagayans have one language and the Ylocos another. The Zambales have their own particular language, while the Pampangos also have one different from the others. The inhabitants of the province of Manila, the Tagáls, have their own language, which is very rich and copious. By means of it one can express elegantly whatever he wishes, and in many modes and manners. It is not difficult, either to learn or to pronounce.

The natives throughout the islands can write excellently with certain characters, almost like the Greek or Arabic. These characters are fifteen in all. Three are vowels, which are used as are our five. The consonants number twelve, and each and all of them combine with certain dots or commas, and so signify whatever one wishes to write, as fluently and easily as is done with our Spanish alphabet. The method of writing was on bamboo, but is now on paper, commencing the lines at the right and running to the left, in the Arabic fashion. Almost all the

[133] This entire paragraph is omitted in the Rizal edition. In the original it is as follows:

*La Lengua de todos, los Pintados y Bicayas, es vna meſma, por do ſe entienden, hablando y eſcriuiendo, en letras y caratores que tienen particulares, que ſemejan á los Arabigos, y ſu comun eſcribir entre los naturales, es en hojas de arboles, y en cañas, ſobre la corteza; que en todas las islas ay muchas, de diſforme gruefo los cañutos, y el pie es vn arbol muy gruefo y maciço.*

[134] This difference is no greater than that between the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian.– RIZAL.

natives, both men and women, write in this language. There are very few who do not write it excellently and correctly.

This language of the province of Manila [*i.e.*, the Tagál] extends throughout the province of Camarines, and other islands not contiguous to Luzon. There is but little difference in that spoken in the various districts, except that it is spoken more elegantly in some provinces than in others.[135]

The edifices and houses of the natives of all these Filipinas Islands are built in a uniform manner, as are their settlements; for they always build them on the shores of the sea, between rivers and creeks. The natives generally gather in districts or settlements where they sow their rice, and possess their palm trees, nipa and banana groves, and other trees, and implements for their fishing and sailing. A small number inhabit the interior, and are called tinguianes; they also seek sites on rivers and creeks, on which they settle for the same reasons.

The houses and dwellings of all these natives are universally set upon stakes and *arigues* [*i.e.*, columns] high above the ground. Their rooms are

[135] See Chirino (*Relacion de las islas Filipinas*) VOL. XII, chapters xv-xvii. His remarks, those of Morga, and those of other historians argue a considerable amount of culture among the Filipino peoples prior to the Spanish conquest. A variety of opinions have been expressed as to the direction of the writing. Chirino, San Antonio, Zúñiga, and Le Gentil, say that it was vertical, beginning at the top. Colin, Ezguerra, and Marche assert that it was vertical but in the opposite direction. Colin says that the horizontal form was adopted after the arrival of the Spaniards. Mas declares that it was horizontal and from left to right, basing his arguments upon certain documents in the Augustinian archives in Manila. The eminent Filipino scholar, Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera has treated the subject in a work entitled "*Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos*" (Losana, 1884). See Rizal's notes on p. 291 of his edition of Morga.

small and the roofs low. They are built and tiled with wood and bamboos,[136] and covered and roofed with nipa-palm leaves. Each house is separate, and is not built adjoining another. In the lower part are enclosures made by stakes and bamboos, where their fowls and cattle are reared, and the rice pounded and cleaned. One ascends into the houses by means of ladders that can be drawn up, which are made from two bamboos. Above are their open *batalanes* [galleries] used for household duties; the parents and [grown] children live together. There is little adornment and finery in the houses, which are called *bahandin*.[137]

Besides these houses, which are those of the common people and those of less importance, there are the chiefs' houses. They are built upon trees and thick arigues, with many rooms and comforts. They are well constructed of timber and planks, and are strong and large. They are furnished and supplied with all that is necessary, and are much finer and more substantial than the others. They are roofed, however, as are the others, with the palm-leaves called nipa. These keep out the water and the sun more than do shingles or tiles, although the danger from fires is greater.

The natives do not inhabit the lower part of their houses, because they raise their fowls and cattle there, and because of the damp and heat of the earth, and the many rats, which are enormous and destructive both in the houses and sowed fields; and because,

[136] This portion of this sentence is omitted in Stanley.

[137] Báhay is "house" in Tagál; *pamamáhay* is that which is in the interior and the house. *Bahandin* may be a misprint for *bahayín*, an obsolete derivative.—RIZAL.

as their houses are generally built on the sea shore, or on the banks of rivers and creeks, the waters bathe the lower parts, and the latter are consequently left open.

There were no kings or lords throughout these islands who ruled over them as in the manner of our kingdoms and provinces; but in every island, and in each province of it, many chiefs were recognized by the natives themselves. Some were more powerful than others, and each one had his followers and subjects, by districts and families; and these obeyed and respected the chief. Some chiefs had friendship and communication with others, and at times wars and quarrels.[138]

These principalities and lordships were inherited in the male line and by succession of father and son and their descendants. If these were lacking, then their brothers and collateral relatives succeeded. Their duty was to rule and govern their subjects and followers, and to assist them in their interests and necessities. What the chiefs received from their followers was to be held by them in great veneration and respect; and they were served in their wars and voyages, and in their tilling, sowing, fishing, and the building of their houses. To these duties the natives attended very promptly, whenever summoned by their chief. They also paid the chiefs tribute (which they called *buiz*), in varying quantities, in the crops that they gathered. The descendants of such chiefs, and their relatives, even though they did not inherit the lordship, were held in the same respect and consideration. Such were all regarded as nobles,

[138] Cf. this and following sections with Loarca's relation, VOL. V, of this series; and with Plasencia's account, VOL. VII, pp. 173-196.

and as persons exempt from the services rendered by the others, or the plebeians, who were called *timaguas*.[139] The same right of nobility and chieftainship was preserved for the women, just as for the men. When any of these chiefs was more courageous than others in war and upon other occasions, such a one enjoyed more followers and men; and the others were under his leadership, even if they were chiefs. These latter retained to themselves the lordship and particular government of their own following, which is called *barangai* among them. They had *datos* and other special leaders [*mandadores*] who attended to the interests of the barangay.

The superiority of these chiefs over those of their barangai was so great that they held the latter as subjects; they treated these well or ill, and disposed of their persons, their children, and their possessions, at will, without any resistance, or rendering account to anyone. For very slight annoyances and for slight occasions, they were wont to kill and wound them, and to enslave them. It has happened that the chiefs have made perpetual slaves of persons who have gone by them, while bathing in the river, or who have raised their eyes to look at them less respectfully and for other similar causes.[140]

[139] Timawá.– RIZAL.

[140] The condition of these slaves was not always a melancholy one. Argensola says that they ate at the same table with their masters, and married into their families. The histories fail to record the assassination for motives of vengeance of any master or chief by the natives, as they do of encomenderos. After the conquest the evil deepened. The Spaniards made slaves without these pretexts, and without those enslaved being Indians of their jurisdiction – going moreover, to take them away from their own villages and islands. Fernando de los Rios Coronel, in his memorial to the king (Madrid, 1621) pp. 24-25, speaks in scathing terms of the cruelties inflicted on the natives in the construction of ships during

When some natives had suits or disputes with others over matters of property and interest, or over personal injuries and wrongs received, they appointed old men of the same district, to try them, the parties being present. If they had to present proofs, they brought their witnesses there, and the case was immediately judged according to what was found, according to the usages of their ancestors on like occasions; and that sentence was observed and executed without any further objection or delay.[141]

The natives' laws throughout the islands were made in the same manner, and they followed the traditions and customs of their ancestors, without anything being written. Some provinces had different customs than others in some respects. However, they agreed in most, and in all the islands generally the same usages were followed.[142]

There are three conditions of persons among the natives of these islands, and into which their government is divided: the chiefs, of whom we have already treated; the timaguas, who are equivalent to plebeians; and slaves, those of both chiefs and timaguas.

The slaves were of several classes. Some were

the governorship of Juan de Silva. A letter from Felipe II to Bishop Domingo de Salazar shows the awful tyranny exercised by the encomenderos upon the natives, whose condition was worse than that of slaves.– RIZAL.

[141] For remarks on the customs formerly observed by the natives of Pampanga in their suits, see appendix to this volume.

[142] This fundamental agreement of laws, and this general uniformity, prove that the mutual relations of the islands were widespread, and the bonds of friendship more frequent than were wars and quarrels. There may have existed a confederation, since we know from the first Spaniards that the chief of Manila was commander-in-chief of the sultan of Borneo. In addition, documents of the twelfth century that exist testify the same thing.– RIZAL.

for all kinds of work and slavery, like those which we ourselves hold. Such are called *saguiguilires*;[143] they served inside the house, as did likewise the children born of them. There are others who live in their own houses with their families, outside the house of their lord; and come, at the season, to aid him in his sowings and harvests, among his rowers when he embarks, in the construction of his house when it is being built, and to serve in his house when there are guests of distinction. These are bound to come to their lord's house whenever he summons them, and to serve in these offices without any pay or stipend. These slaves are called *namamahays*,[144] and their children and descendants are slaves of the same class. From these slaves – *saguiguilirs* and *namamahays* – are issue, some of whom are whole slaves, some of whom are half slaves, and still others one-fourth slaves. It happens thus: if either the

[143] This word must be *sagigilid* in its Tagál form. The root *gílid* signifies in Tagál, "margin," "strand," or "shore." The reduplication of the first syllable, if tonic, signifies active future action. If not tonic and the suffix *an* be added, it denotes the place where the action of the verb is frequently executed. The preposition *sa* indicates place, time, reference. The atonic reduplication may also signify plurality, in which case the singular noun would be *sagílid, i.e.*, "at the margin," or "the last"– that is, the slave. Timawã signifies now in Tagál, "in peace, in quietness, tranquil, free," etc. *Maginoo*, from the root *ginoo*, "dignity," is now the title of the chiefs; and the chiefs' reunion is styled *kaginoóhan*. Colin says, nevertheless, that the chiefs used the title *gat* or *lakan*, and the women *dayang*. The title of *mama* applied now to men, corresponds to "uncle," "Señor," "Monsieur," "Mr.," etc.; and the title *al* of women to the feminine titles corresponding to these.– Rizal.

[144] *Namamahay* (from *bahay*, "house"), "he who lives in his own house." This class of slaves, if they may be so called, exists even yet. They are called *kasamá* (because of being now the laborers of a capitalist or farmer), *bataan* ("servant," or "domestic"), *kampon, tao*, etc.

father or the mother was free, and they had an only child, he was half free and half slave. If they had more than one child, they were divided as follows: the first follows the condition of the father, free or slave; the second that of the mother. If there were an odd number of children, the last was half free and half slave. Those who descended from these, if children of a free mother or father, were only one-fourth slaves, because of being children of a free father or mother and of a half-slave. These half slaves or one-fourth slaves, whether saguiguilirs or namamahays, served their masters during every other moon; and in this respect so is such condition slavery.

In the same way, it may happen in divisions between heirs that a slave will fall to several, and serves each one for the time that is due him. When the slave is not wholly slave, but half or fourth, he has the right, because of that part that is free, to compel his master to emancipate him for a just price. This price is appraised and regulated for persons according to the quality of their slavery, whether it be saguiguilir or namamahay, half slave or quarter slave. But, if he is wholly slave, the master cannot be compelled to ransom or emancipate him for any price.

The usual price of a sanguiguilir slave among the natives is, at most, generally ten taes of good gold, or eighty pesos; if he is namamahay, half of that sum. The others are in the same proportion, taking into consideration the person and his age.

No fixed beginning can be assigned as the origin of these kinds of slavery among these natives, because all the slaves are natives of the islands, and not strangers. It is thought that they were made in their wars and quarrels. The most certain knowledge is

that the most powerful made the others slaves, and seized them for slight cause or occasion, and many times for loans and usurious contracts which were current among them. The interest, capital, and debt, increased so much with delay that the borrowers became slaves. Consequently all these slaveries have violent and unjust beginnings; and most of the suits among the natives are over these, and they occupy the judges in the exterior court with them, and their confessors in that of conscience.[145]

These slaves comprise the greatest wealth and capital of the natives of these islands, for they are very useful to them and necessary for the cultivation of their property. They are sold, traded, and exchanged among them, just as any other mercantile article, from one village to another, from one province to another, and likewise from one island to another. Therefore, and to avoid so many suits as would occur if these slaveries were examined, and their origin and source ascertained, they are preserved and held as they were formerly.

The marriages of these natives, commonly and generally were, and are: Chiefs with women chiefs; timaguas with those of that rank; and slaves with

[145] This class of slavery still exists [1890] in many districts, especially in the province of Batangas; but it must be admitted that their condition is quite different from that of the slave in Greece or Rome, or that of the negro, and even of those made slaves formerly by the Spaniards. Thanks to their social condition and to their number in that time, the Spanish domination met very little resistance, while the Filipino chiefs easily lost their independence and liberty. The people, accustomed to the yoke, did not defend the chiefs from the invader, nor attempt to struggle for liberties that they never enjoyed. For the people, it was only a change of masters. The nobles, accustomed to tyrannize by force, had to accept the foreign tyranny, when it showed itself stronger than their own. Not encountering love or elevated feelings in the enslaved mass, they found themselves without force or power.– RIZAL.

those of their own class. But sometimes these classes intermarry with one another. They considered one woman, whom they married, as the legitimate wife and the mistress of the house; and she was styled *ynasaba*.[146] Those whom they kept besides her they considered as friends. The children of the first were regarded as legitimate and whole heirs of their parents; the chilren of the others were not so regarded, and were left something by assignment, but they did not inherit.

The dowry was furnished by the man, being given by his parents. The wife furnished nothing for the marriage, until she had inherited it from her parents. The solemnity of the marriage consisted in nothing more than the agreement between the parents and relatives of the contracting parties, the payment of the dowry agreed upon to the father of the bride,[147] and the assembling at the wife's parents' house of all the relatives to eat and drink until they would fall down. At night the man took the woman to his house and into his power, and there she remained. These marriages were annulled and dissolved for slight cause, with the examination and judgment of the relatives of both parties, and of the old men, who acted as mediators in the affairs. At such a time the man took the dowry

[146] *Inasawa*, or more correctly *asawa* (consort).—RIZAL.

[147] This dowry, if one may call it so, represented to the parents an indemnity for the care and vigilance that they had exercised in their daughter's education. The Filipina woman, never being a burden to any one (either to her parents or to her husband), but quite the contrary, represents a value, whose loss to the possessor must be substituted. . . . The Tagál wife is free, and treated with consideration; she trades and contracts, almost always with the approbation of her husband, who consults her in all his acts. She takes care of the money, and educates the children, half of whom belong to her . . .—RIZAL.

(which they call *vigadicaya*),[148] unless it happened that they separated through the husband's fault; for then it was not returned to him, and the wife's parents kept it. The property that they had acquired together was divided into halves, and each one disposed of his own. If one made any profits in which the other did not have a share or participate, he acquired it for himself alone.

The Indians were adopted one by another, in presence of the relatives. The adopted person gave and delivered all his actual possessions to the one who adopted him. Thereupon he remained in his house and care, and had a right to inherit with the other children.[149]

Adulteries were not punishable corporally. If the adulterer paid the aggrieved party the amount adjudged by the old men and agreed upon by them, then the injury was pardoned, and the husband was appeased and retained his honor. He would still live with his wife and there would be no further talk about the matter.

In inheritances all the legitimate children inherited equally from their parents whatever property they had acquired. If there were any movable or landed property which they had received from their parents, such went to the nearest relatives and

[148] *Bigay-káya*, " to give what one can," " a voluntary offering, a present of good will " . . . This *bigay-káya* devolved entire to the married couple, according to Colin, if the son-in-law was obedient to his parents-in-law; if not, it was divided among all the heirs. " Besides the dowry, the chiefs used to give certain gifts to the parents and relatives, and even to the slaves, which were great or less according to the rank of the one married " (Colin).– RIZAL.

[149] This good custom still exists, . . . although it is gradually passing away.– RIZAL.

the collateral side of that stock, if there were no legitimate children by an ynasaba. This was the case either with or without a will. In the act of drawing a will, there was no further ceremony than to have written it or to have stated it orally before acquaintances.

If any chief was lord of a barangai, then in that case, the eldest son of an ynasaba succeeded him. If he died, the second son succeeded. If there were no sons, then the daughters succeeded in the same order. If there were no legitimate successors, the succession went to the nearest relative belonging to the lineage and relationship of the chief who had been the last possessor of it.

If any native who had slave women made concubines of any of them, and such slave woman had children, those children were free, as was the slave. But if she had no children, she remained a slave.[150]

These children by a slave woman, and those borne by a married woman, were regarded as illegitimate, and did not succeed to the inheritance with the other children, neither were the parents obliged to leave them anything. Even if they were the sons of chiefs, they did not succeed to the nobility or chieftainship of the parents, nor to their privileges, but they remained and were reckoned as plebeians and in the number and rank of the other timaguas.

The contracts and negotiations of these natives were generally illegal, each one paying attention to how he might better his own business and interest.

Loans with interest were very common and much

[150] Such is the law throughout most parts of Asia; in Siam the woman becomes free without having children. It is only in America that fathers could and did sell their own children into slavery.—STANLEY.

practiced, and the interest incurred was excessive. The debt doubled and increased all the time while payment was delayed, until it stripped the debtor of all his possessions, and he and his children, when all their property was gone, became slaves.[151]

Their customary method of trading was by bartering one thing for another, such as food, cloth, cattle, fowls, lands, houses, fields, slaves, fishing-grounds, and palm-trees (both nipa and wild). Sometimes a price intervened, which was paid in gold, as agreed upon, or in metal bells brought from China. These bells they regard as precious jewels; they resemble large pans and are very sonorous.[152] They play upon these at their feasts, and carry them to the war in their boats instead of drums and other instruments. There are often delays and terms for certain payments, and bondsmen who intervene and bind themselves, but always with very usurious and excessive profits and interests.

Crimes were punished by request of the aggrieved parties. Especially were thefts punished with greater severity, the robbers being enslaved or sometimes put to death.[153] The same was true of insult-

[151] This condition of affairs and the collection of usury is true still [1890]. Morga's words prove true not only of the Indian, but also of the mestizos, the Spaniards, and even of various religious. So far has it gone that the government itself not only permits it, but also exacts the capital and even the person to pay the debts of others, as happens with the *cabeza de barangay* [head of a barangay].– RIZAL.

[152] The *tam-tam* and the *pum-piang* are still used.– RIZAL.

[153] The early Filipinos had a great horror of theft, and even the most anti-Filipino historian could not accuse them of being a thievish race. Today, however, they have lost their horror of that crime. One of the old Filipino methods of investigating theft was as follows: "If the crime was proved, but not the criminal, if more than one was suspected . . . each suspect was first

ing words, especially when spoken to chiefs. They had among themselves many expressions and words which they regarded as the highest insult, when said to men and women. These were pardoned less willingly and with greater difficulty than was personal violence, such as wounding and assaulting.[154]

Concubinage, rape, and incest, were not regarded at all, unless committed by a timagua on the person of a woman chief. It was a quite ordinary practice for a married man to have lived a long time in concubinage with the sister of his wife. Even before having communication with his wife he could have had access for a long time to his mother-in-law, especially if the bride were very young, and until she were of sufficient age. This was done in sight of all the relatives.

Single men are called *bagontaos*,[155] and girls of marriageable age, *dalagas*. Both classes are people of little restraint, and from early childhood they have communication with one another, and mingle with facility and little secrecy, and without this being regarded among the natives as a cause for anger. Neither do the parents, brothers, or relatives, show any anger, especially if there is any material interest in it, and but little is sufficient with each and all.

obliged to place a bundle of cloth, leaves, or whatever he wished on a pile, in which the thing stolen might be hidden. Upon the completion of this investigation if the stolen property was found in the pile, the suit ceased." The Filipinos also practiced customs very similar to the " judgments of God " of the middle ages, such as putting suspected persons, by pairs, under the water and adjudging guilty him who first emerged.– RIZAL.

[154] The Filipino today prefers a beating to scoldings or insults.– RIZAL.

[155] From *bago*, new, and *tao*, man: he who has become a man.– RIZAL.

As long as these natives lived in their paganism, it was not known that they had fallen into the abominable sin against nature. But after the Spaniards had entered their country, through communication with them – and still more, through that with the Sangleys, who have come from China, and are much given to that vice – it has been communicated to them somewhat, both to men and to women. In this matter it has been necessary to take action.

The natives of the islands of Pintados, especially the women, are very vicious and sensual. Their perverseness has discovered lascivious methods of communication between men and women; and there is one to which they are accustomed from their youth. The men skilfully make a hole in their virile member near its head, and insert therein a serpent's head, either of metal or ivory, and fasten it with a peg of the same material passed through the hole, so that it cannot become unfastened. With this device, they have communication with their wives, and are unable to withdraw until a long time after copulation. They are very fond of this and receive much pleasure from it, so that, although they shed a quantity of blood, and receive other harm, it is current among them. These devices are called *sagras*, and there are very few of them, because since they have become Christians, strenuous efforts are being made to do away with these, and not consent to their use; and consequently the practice has been checked in great part.[156]

[156] In speaking of a similar custom in Australia, Eyre (*Central Australia*, i, p. 213), says: "This extraordinary and inexplicable custom must have a great tendency to prevent the rapid increase of the population.– STANLEY. [Stanley does not translate this paragraph of the text.]

Herbalists and witches are common among these natives, but are not punished or prohibited among them, so long as they do not cause any special harm. But seldom could that be ascertained or known.

There were also men whose business was to ravish and take away virginity from young girls. These girls were taken to such men, and the latter were paid for ravishing them, for the natives considered it a hindrance and impediment if the girls were virgins when they married.

In matters of religion, the natives proceeded more barbarously and with greater blindness than in all the rest. For besides being pagans, without any knowledge of the true God, they neither strove to discover Him by way of reason, nor had any fixed belief. The devil usually deceived them with a thousand errors and blindnesses. He appeared to them in various horrible and frightful forms, and as fierce animals, so that they feared him and trembled before him. They generally worshiped him, and made images of him in the said forms. These they kept in caves and private houses, where they offered them perfumes and odors, and food and fruit, calling them *anitos*.[157]

Others worshiped the sun and the moon, and made feasts and drunken revels at the conjunction of those bodies. Some worshiped a yellow-colored bird that dwells in their woods, called *batala*. They generally worship and adore the crocodiles when they see them, by kneeling down and clasping their hands, because of the harm that they receive from those

[157] It appears that the natives called *anito* a tutelary genius, either of the family, or extraneous to it. Now, with their new religious ideas, the Tagáls apply the term *anito* to any superstition, false worship, idol, etc.– RIZAL.

reptiles; they believe that by so doing the crocodiles will become appeased and leave them. Their oaths, execrations, and promises are all as above mentioned, namely, "May *buhayan* eat thee, if thou dost not speak truth, or fulfil what thou hast promised," and similar things.

There were no temples throughout those islands, nor houses generally used for the worship of idols; but each person possessed and made in his house his own anitos,[158] without any fixed rite or ceremony. They had no priests or religious to attend to religious affairs, except certain old men and women called *catalonas*. These were experienced witches and sorcerers, who kept the other people deceived. The latter communicatd to these sorcerers their desires and needs, and the catalonas told them innumerable extravagancies and lies. The catalonas uttered prayers and performed other ceremonies to the idols for the sick; and they believed in omens and superstitions, with which the devil inspired them, whereby they declared whether the patient would recover or die. Such were their cures and methods, and they used various kinds of divinations for all things. All this was with so little aid, apparatus, or foundation – which God permitted, so that the preaching of the holy gospel should find those of that region better prepared for it, and so that those natives would confess the truth more easily, and it would be less difficult to withdraw them from their darkness, and

[158] Others besides Morga mention oratories in caves, where the idols were kept, and where aromatics were burned in small brasiers. Chirino found small temples in Taitay adjoining the principal houses. [See VOL. XII, of this series, chapter xxi.] It appears that temples were never dedicated to *bathala maykapal*, nor was sacrifice ever offered him. The temples dedicated to the *anito* were called *ulañgo*.– RIZAL.

the errors in which the devil kept them for so many years. They never sacrificed human beings as is done in other kingdoms. They believed that there was a future life where those who had been brave and performed valiant feats would be rewarded; while those who had done evil would be punished. But they did not know how or where this would be.[159]

They buried their dead in their own houses, and kept their bodies and bones for a long time in chests. They venerated the skulls of the dead as if they were living and present. Their funeral rites did not consist of pomp or assemblages, beyond those of their own house – where, after bewailing the dead, all was changed into feasting and drunken revelry among all the relatives and friends.[160]

[159] San Agustín says that hell was called *solad*, and paradise, *kalualhatian* (a name still in existence), and in poetical language, *ulugan*. The blest abodes of the inhabitants of Panay were in the mountain of Madias.– RIZAL.

[160] Cf. the "wake" of the Celtic and Gaelic peasants. Cf. also the North-American Indian burial ceremonies, and reverence paid to the dead, in *Jesuit Relations*, i, p. 215; ii, pp. 21, 149; viii, p. 21; x, pp. 169, 247, 283-285, 293; xiii, 259; xxi, 199; xxiii, 31; lxv, 141; etc.

In the Filipino burials, there were mourners who composed panegyrics in honor of the dead, like those made today. "To the sound of this sad music the corpse was washed, and perfumed with storax, gum-resin, or other perfumes made from tree gums, which are found in all these woods. Then the corpse was shrouded, being wrapped in more or less cloth according to the rank of the deceased. The bodies of the more wealthy were anointed and embalmed in the manner of the Hebrews, with aromatic liquors, which preserved them from decay. . . . The burial-place of the poor was in pits dug in the ground under their own houses. After the bodies of the rich and powerful were kept and bewailed for three days, they were placed in a chest or coffin of incorruptible wood, adorned with rich jewels, and with small sheets of gold in the mouth and over the eyes. The coffin was all in one piece, and the lid was so adjusted that no air could enter. Because of these precautions the bodies have been found after many years, still uncorrupted. These coffins were deposited in one of three

A few years before the Spaniards subdued the island of Luzon, certain natives of the island of Borneo began to go thither to trade, especially to the settlement of Manila and Tondo; and the inhabitants of the one island intermarried with those of the other. These Borneans are Mahometans, and were already introducing their religion among the natives of Luzon, and were giving them instructions, ceremonies, and the form of observing their religion, by means of certain *gazizes* [161] whom they brought with them. Already a considerable number, and those the chiefest men, were commencing, although by piecemeal, to become Moros, and were being circumcised [162] and taking the names of Moros. Had

places, according to the inclination and arrangement of the deceased, either on top of the house among the treasures . . . or underneath it, but raised from the ground; or in the ground itself, in an open hole surrounded with a small railing . . . nearby they were wont to place another box filled with the best clothes of the deceased; and at meal-time they set various articles of food there in dishes. Beside the men were laid their weapons, and beside the women their looms or other implements of work" (Colin). – RIZAL.

[161] *Kasis*. This is another instance of the misapplication of this Arabic term, which means exclusively a Christian priest.– STANLEY.

[162] This custom has not fallen into disuse among the Filipinos, even among the Catholics.– RIZAL.

Lieutenant Charles Norton Barney, of the medical department of the U. S. Army, has an article in *Journal* of the Association of Military Surgeons for September, 1903, on "Circumcision and Flagellation among the Filipinos." In regard to circumcision he states that it "is a very ancient custom among the Philippine *indios*, and so generalized that at least seventy or eighty per cent of males in the Tagal country have undergone the operation." Those uncircumcised at the age of puberty are taunted by their fellows, and such are called "*suput*," a word formerly meaning "constricted" or "tight," but now being extended to mean "one who cannot easily gain entrance in sexual intercourse." The "operation has no religious significance," nor is it done for cleanliness, "but from custom and disinclination to be ridiculed," probably [as

the Spaniards' coming been delayed longer, that religion would have spread throughout the island, and even through the others, and it would have been difficult to extirpate it. The mercy of God checked it in time; for, because of being in so early stages, it was uprooted from the islands, and they were freed from it, that is, in all that the Spaniards have pacified, and that are under the government of the Filipinas. That religion has spread and extended very widely in the other islands outside of this government, so that now almost all of their natives are Mahometan Moros, and are ruled and instructed by their *gaçizes* and other *morabitos*;[163] these often come to preach to and teach them by way of the strait of Ma[la]ca and the Red Sea, through which they navigate to reach these islands.

The arrival of the Spaniards in these Filipinas Islands, since the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, the pacification and conversion that has been made therein, their mode of governing, and the provisions of his Majesty during these years for their welfare, have caused innovations in many things, such as are usual to kingdoms and provinces that change their religion and sovereign. The foremost has been that, besides the name of Filipinas which all the islands took and received from the beginning of their conquest, they belong to a new kingdom and seigniory to which his Majesty, Filipo

Morga proves] having been learned from the Moros. The friars were unable to check the custom. Among the Tagáls the operation is called "*tuli*," and the method of circumcising is described at length. The author derives his information from a mestizo and a full-blooded native. The custom is mentioned by Foreman.

[163] Appellation given to their ecclesiastical sages by Mahometans.

Second, our sovereign, gave the name of Nuevo Reyno de Castilla ["New Kingdom of Castilla"]. By his royal concession, he made the city of Manila capital of it, and gave to it as a special favor, among other things, a crowned coat-of-arms which was chosen and assigned by his royal person. This is an escutcheon divided across. In the upper part is a castle on a red field, and in the lower a lion of gold, crowned and rampant, holding a naked sword in its right paw. One-half of the body is in the form of a dolphin upon the waters of the sea, to signify that the Spaniards crossed the sea with their arms to conquer this kingdom for the crown of Castilla.[164]

The city of Manila was founded by the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, first governor of the Filipinas, in the island of Luzon. It occupies the same site where Rajamora had his settlement and fort – as has been related more at length – at the mouth of the river which empties into the bay, on a point between the river and the sea. The whole site was occupied by this new settlement, and Legazpi apportioned it to the Spaniards in equal building-lots. It was laid out with well-arranged streets and squares, straight and level. A sufficiently large main square [*Plaza mayor*] was left, fronting which were erected the cathedral church and municipal buildings. He left another square, that of arms [*Plaza de armas*], fronting which was built the fort, as well as the royal buildings. He gave sites for the monasteries,[165] hospital, and chapels which were to be built, as being a city which was to grow and increase continually –

[164] See the king's decree granting this coat-of-arms, in VOL. IX, pp. 211-215, with two representations of the coat-of-arms.

[165] Convents occupy almost one-third part of the walled city.– RIZAL.

as already it has done; for, in the course of the time that has passed, that city has flourished as much as the best of all the cities in those regions.

The city is completely surrounded with a stone wall, which is more than two and one-half varas wide, and in places more than three. It has small towers and traverses at intervals.[166] It has a fortress of hewn stone at the point that guards the bar and the river, with a ravelin close to the water, upon which are mounted some large pieces of artillery. This artillery commands the sea and river, while other pieces are mounted farther up to defend the bar, besides some other moderate-sized field-pieces and swivel-guns. These fortifications have their vaults for storing supplies and munitions, and a magazine for the powder, which is well guarded and situated in the inner part; and a copious well of fresh water. There are also quarters for the soldiers and artillerymen, and the house of the commandant [alcayde]. The city has been lately fortified on the land side at the Plaza de armas, where it is entered by a strong wall and two salient towers, defended with artillery, which command the wall and gate. This fortress is called Santiago, and has a company of thirty soldiers with their officers, and eight artillerymen who guard the gate and entrance by watches – all in charge of a commandant who lives inside, and has the guard and custody of the fort.

There is another fortress, also of stone, in the same wall, within culverin range, located at the end[167] of

[166] The walls did not even have any moats then; these were dug after the English invasion of 1762. The walls were also rearranged at that time, and perfected with the lapse of time and the needs that arose in the city.– RIZAL.

[167] Rizal misprints *al cabo del lienço* as *al campo del lienzo*.

the curtain, which extends along the shore of the bay. It is called Nuestra Señora de Guia, and is a very large round tower. It has its own court, well, and quarters inside, as well as the magazine, and other rooms for work. It has a traverse extending to the beach, on which are mounted a dozen large and moderate-sized pieces, which command the bay and sweep the wall, which extends along the shore to the gate and to the fort of Santiago. On the other side the fortress has a large salient tower, mounted with four large pieces, which command the shore ahead in the direction of the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Guia. The gate and entrance is within the city and is guarded by a company of twenty soldiers and their officers, six artillerymen, and one commandant and his lieutenant, who live inside.

On the land side, where the wall extends, there is a rampart called Sant Andres, which mounts six pieces of artillery that command in all directions, and some swivel-guns. Farther on is another traverse called San Gabriel, opposite the parián of the Sangleys, with a like amount of artillery. Both have some soldiers and an ordinary guard.

The wall has a sufficient height, and is furnished with battlements and turrets, built in the modern style, for its defense. It has a circuit of about one legua, which can be made entirely on top. It has many broad steps of the same hewn stone, at intervals inside. There are three principal city gates on the land side, and many other posterns opening at convenient places on the river and beach, for the service of the city. Each and all of them are locked before nightfall by the ordinary patrols. These carry the keys to the guard-room of the royal build-

ings. In the morning when day comes, the patrols return with the keys and open the city.[168]

The royal arsenals front on the Plaza de armas. In them are kept and guarded all the supplies of ammunition, food, rigging, iron, copper, lead, artillery, arquebuses, and other things belonging to the royal estate. They have their own officers and workmen, and are placed in charge of the royal officials.

Near these arsenals is located the powder-house, with its master, workmen, and convicts, where powder is generally ground in thirty mortars, and that which is spoiled is refined.[169]

The building for the founding of artillery is located on a suitable site in another part of the city. It has its molds, ovens, and tools, founders, and workmen who work it.[170]

The royal buildings are very beautiful and slightly, and contain many rooms. They have many windows opening toward the sea and the Plaza de armas. They are all built of stone and have two courts, with upper and lower galleries raised on stout pillars. The governor and president lives inside with his family. There is a hall for the royal Audiencia, which is very large and stately; also a

[168] Now [1890] the gates of the city are open all night, and in certain periods, passage along the streets and through the walls is allowed at all hours.– RIZAL.

[169] This powder-mill has several times changed its site. It was afterward near Maalat on the seashore, and then was moved to Nagtahá, on the bank of the Pasig.– RIZAL.

[170] Probably on the same site where the great Tagál cannon-foundry had formerly stood, which was burned and destroyed by the Spaniards at their first arrival in Manila. San Agustin declares the Tagál foundry to have been as large as that at Málaga.– RIZAL.

separate chapel, a room for the royal seal,[171] and offices for the scriveners of the Audiencia, and the government. There are also other apartments for the royal treasury and the administration of the royal officials, while a large porch opens on the street with two principal doors, where the guardroom is located. There is one company of regular arquebusiers, who come in daily with their banners to stand guard. Opposite, on the other side of the street, is another edifice for the royal treasury and those in charge of it.[172]

The houses of the cabildo, located on the square, are built of stone. They are very sightly and have handsome halls. On the ground floor is the prison, and the court of the alcaldes-in-ordinary.[173]

On the same square is situated the cathedral church. It is built of hewn stone, and has three naves, and its main chapel, and choir, with high and low seats. The choir is shut in by railings, and has its organ, missal-stands, and other necessary things. The cathedral has also its sacristan[174] and his apartments and offices.

Within the city is the monastery of St. Augustine. It is very large and has many dormitories, a refectory and kitchens. They are now completing a church, which is one of the most sumptuous in those districts. This convent has generally fifty religious.[175]

[171] The Rizal edition omits the words, *muy grande y autorizada, capilla aparte, camara del fello real.*

[172] The treasury building. The governor's palace was destroyed in 1863.– RIZAL.

[173] The Audiencia and cabildo buildings were also destroyed, but the latter has been rebuilt.– RIZAL.

[174] The Rizal edition misprints *facriftan* as *sacristías.*

[175] This is the largest convent in Manila.– RIZAL.

The monastery of St. Dominic is inside the walls. It contains about forty religious. It was built of stone, and was very well constructed. It has a church, house, and all offices. It has lately been rebuilt, and much better; for it was completely destroyed in the burning of the city in the year six hundred and three.

The monastery of St. Francis is farther on. It is well constructed of stone, and its church is being rebuilt. It contains about forty discalced religious.

The residence [*colegio*] of the Society of Jesus is established near the fortress of Nuestra Señora de Guia. It contains twenty religious of their order, and is an excellent stone house and church. There they study Latin, the arts, and cases of conscience. Connected with them is a seminary and convictorio [176] for Spanish scholars, with their rector. These students wear gowns of tawny-colored frieze with red facings.[177]

In another part of the city stands a handsome house, walled in, with its stone church, called San Andres and Santa Potenciana. It is a royal foundation, and a rectoress lives there. It has a revolving entrance and a parlor, and the rectoress has other

[176] Among the Jesuits, that part of a college where the pensioners or boarders live and receive their instruction.

[177] This college of San José was founded in 1601, although the royal decree for it had been conceded in 1585. The number of collegiates to enter was thirteen, among whom was a nephew of Francisco Tello and a son of Dr. Morga. From its inception Latin was taught there. In a suit with the College of Santo Tomás, the Jesuits obtained a favorable decision; and it was recognized as the older institution, and given the preference in public acts. The historians say that at its inauguration the students wore bonnets covered with diamonds and pearls. At present [1890] this college, after having moved from house to house, has become a school of pharmacy attached to Santo Tomás, and directed by the Dominican rector.—RIZAL.

confidential assistants; and there shelter is given to needy women and girls of the city, in the form of religious retirement. Some of the girls leave the house to be married, while others remain there permanently. It has its own house for work, and its choir. His Majesty assists them with a portion of their maintenance; the rest is provided by their own industry and property. They have their own steward and their priest, who administers the sacraments to them.[178]

In another part is the royal hospital for Spaniards, with its physician, apothecary, surgeons, managers, and servants. It and its church are built of stone; and it has its sick rooms and the bed service. In it all the Spaniards are treated. It is usually quite full; it is under the royal patronage. His Majesty provides the most necessary things for it. Three discalced religious of St. Francis act there as superintendents, and they prove very advantageous for the corporal and spiritual relief of the sick. It was burned in the conflagration of the former year six hundred and three, and is now being rebuilt.

There is another charitable hospital in charge of the Confraternity of that name. It was founded in the city of Manila by the Confraternity of La Misericordia of Lisboa, and by the other confraternities of India.[179] It has apostolic bulls for works of charity, such as burying the dead, supporting the modest poor, marrying orphans, and relieving many necessities. There the slaves of the city are treated, and

[178] After many varying fortunes, this institution has wholly disappeared.– RIZAL.

[179] The Confraternity of Mercy [*Hermandad de la Misericordia*] was founded in 1594, by an ecclesiastic named Juan Fernández de León.– RIZAL.

lodgings are likewise provided for poor women.

Next to the monastery of St. Francis is located the hospital for natives,[180] which is under royal patronage. It was founded with alms, by a holy lay-brother of St. Francis, one Fray Joan Clemente. A great many natives, suffering from all diseases, are treated there with great care and attention. It has a good edifice and workrooms built of stone. The discalced religious of St. Francis manage it; and three priests and four lay-brothers, of exemplary life, live there. These are the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries of the hospital, and are so skilful and useful, that they cause many marvelous cures, both in medicine and in surgery.

The streets of the city are compactly built up with houses, mostly of stone, although some are of wood. Many are roofed with clay tiling, and others with nipa. They are excellent edifices, lofty and spacious, and have large rooms and many windows, and balconies, with iron gratings, that embellish them. More are daily being built and finished. There are about six hundred houses within the walls, and a greater number, built of wood, in the suburbs; and all are the habitations and homes of Spaniards.

The streets, squares, and churches are generally filled with people of all classes, especially Spaniards – all, both men and women, clad and gorgeously adorned in silks. They wear many ornaments and all kinds of fine clothes, because of the ease with which these are obtained. Consequently this is one of the settlements most highly praised, by the foreigners who resort to it, of all in the world, both for the above reason, and for the great provision and

[180] San Juan de Dios [St. John of God].– RIZAL.

abundance of food and other necessaries for human life found there, and sold at moderate prices.

Manila has two drives for recreation. One is by land, along the point called Nuestra Señora de Guia. It extends for about a legua along the shore, and is very clean and level. Thence it passes through a native street and settlement, called Bagunbayan, to a chapel, much frequented by the devout, called Nuestra Señora de Guia, and continues for a goodly distance further to a monastery and mission-house of the Augustinians, called Mahalat.[181]

The other drive extends through one of the city gates to a native settlement, called Laguio, by which one may go to a chapel of San Anton, and to a monastery and mission-house of discalced Franciscans, a place of great devotion, near the city, called La Candelaria.[182]

This city is the capital of the kingdom and the head of the government of all the islands. It is the metropolis of the other cities and settlements of the islands. In it reside the Audiencia and Chancillería of his Majesty, and the governor and captain-general of the islands.[183]

[181] Better, Maalat. The Spaniards pronounced this later Malate. There lived the chief Tagáls after they were deprived of their houses in Manila, among whom were the families of Raja Matanda and Raja Soliman. San Augustín says that even in his day many of the ancient nobility dwelt there, and that they were very urbane and cultured. "The men hold various positions in Manila, and certain occupations in some of the local public functions. The women make excellent lace, in which they are so skilful that the Dutch women cannot surpass them." This is still true of the women.– RIZAL.

[182] Now the town of Paco.– RIZAL.

[183] *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ii, tit. xv, ley xi, defines the district of the Audiencia, and states certain prerogatives of the gov-

Manila has a city cabildo with two alcaldes-in-ordinary, twelve perpetual regidors, an alguaçil-mayor [*i.e.*, chief constable], a royal standard-bearer, the scrivener of the cabildo, and other officials.

The archbishop of the Filipinas Islands resides in this city. He has his metropolitan church, and all the cathedral dignitaries – canons, racioneros, medias racioneros,[184] chaplains, and sacristans – and a music-choir, who chant to the accompaniment of the organ and of flutes [*ministriles*]. The cathedral is quite ornate and well decorated, and the Divine offices are celebrated there with the utmost gravity and ceremony. As suffragans the cathedral has three

ernor and auditors as follows: "In the city of Manila, in the island of Luzon, capital of the Felipinas, shall reside our royal Audiencia and Chancillería, with a president who shall be governor and captain-general, four auditors, who shall also be alcaldes of criminal cases, one fiscal, one alguacil-mayor, one lieutenant of the grand chancillor, and the other ministers and officials necessary. It shall have as its district the said island of Luzon, and all the rest of the Filipinas, the archipelago of China and its mainland as yet discovered and to be discovered. We order the governor and captain-general of the said islands and provinces and president of the royal Audiencia in them, to hold personal charge in peace and war of the superior government of all the district of the said Audiencia, and to make the provisions and concessions in our royal name, which in accordance with the laws of this *Recopilación* and of these kingdoms of Castilla, and with the instructions and powers that he shall get from us, he should and can make. In things and matters of importance that arise in the government, the said president governor shall discuss them with the auditors of the said Audiencia, so that they, after consulting, may give him their opinion. He, after hearing them, shall take what course is most advisable to the service of God and to ours, and the peace and quiet of that province and community." Felipe II, Aranjuez, May 5, 1583; Toledo, May 25, 1596, in ordinance of the Audiencia; Felipe IV in this *Recopilación*.

[184] The original is *canongias, raciones, y medias raciones*, which literally refers to the office or prebend instead of the individual. We retain the above terms as expressing the persons who held these prebends.

bishops – namely, in the island of Sebu, and in Cagayan and Camarines.[185]

There is a royal treasury with three royal officials – factor, accountant, and treasurer – by whom the royal revenue of all the islands is managed.[186]

The vessels sailing annually to Nueva España with the merchandise and investments of all the islands are despatched from the city of Manila; and they return thither from Nueva España with the proceeds of this merchandise, and the usual reënforcements.

In the city is established the camp of the regular soldiers whom his Majesty has had stationed in the islands.

Several galleys are also stationed at Manila with their general and captains, as well as other war-vessels, of deep draft, and smaller ones built like those used by the natives, to attend to the needs of all the islands.

The majority of the vessels from China, Japon, Maluco, Borney, Sian, Malaca, and India, that come to the Filipinas with their merchandise and articles of trade, gather in the bay and river of Manila. In that city they sell and trade for all the islands and their settlements.

In the province [of Cagayán] of this same island of Luzon was founded the city of Segovia,[187] during

[185] Literally, the original translates "in the islands of Sebu, Cagayan, and Camarines."

[186] This is so changed now [1890] and the employees so increased in number, that the annual expenses amount to more than 2,000,000 pesos, while the intendant's salary is 12,000 pesos.– RIZAL.

[187] This city has disappeared from the map and from the earth. An inconsiderable town named Lal-ló occupies its site. It is still [1890], however, named as the appointment of the bishopric of Bigan, the actual residence of the bishop.– RIZAL.

the term of Don Gonçalo Ronquillo, the third governor. It has two hundred Spanish inhabitants who live in wooden houses on the shore of the Tajo River, two leguas from the sea and port of Camalayuga. There is a stone fort near the city for the defense of it and of the river. This fort mounts some artillery, and has its own commandant. Besides the inhabitants, there are generally one hundred regular soldiers, arquebusiers, and their officers. They are all in charge and under command of the alcalde-mayor of the province, who is its military commander.

In that city is established a bishop and his church, although at present the latter has no dignitaries or prebendaries.[188] There is a city cabildo consisting of two alcaldes, six regidors, and an alguacil-mayor. The city abounds in all kinds of food and refreshment at very cheap prices.

The city of Caçeres was founded in the province of Camarines of the same island of Luzon, during the term of Doctor Sande, governor of the Filipinas. It has about one hundred Spanish inhabitants; and

[188] An attempt was made to supply the lack of prebends in the cathedral cities of the Philippines by the following law: "Inasmuch as the bishops of the churches of Nueva Cáceres, Nueva Segovia, and of the Name of Jesus of the Filipinas Islands should have men to assist them in the pontifical acts, and the bishops should have all the propriety possible in their churches, and divine worship more reverence; and inasmuch as there are no tithes with which a few prebendaries can be sustained in the churches: therefore our governor of those islands shall appoint to each of the said churches two ecclesiastics of good life and example, who shall aid and assist the bishop in the pontifical acts, and in all else relating to divine worship. He shall assign them a certain modest sum for their support from our royal treasury, so that with that they may for the present serve the churches, until there be more opportunity for endowing them with prebendaries and providing other necessary things." Felipe III, San Lorenzo, October 5, 1606. *Recopilación de leyes,* lib. i, tit. vi, ley xviii.

has its cabildo, consisting of alcaldes, regidors, and officials. A bishop of that province is established there and has his church, although without dignitaries or prebendaries. A monastery of discalced Franciscans is located there. The government and military affairs of that province are under one alcalde-mayor and war-captain, who resides in Caçeres. The latter is a place abounding in and furnished with all kinds of provisions, at very low rates. It is founded on the bank of a river, four leguas inland from the sea, and its houses are of wood.

The fourth city is that called Santisimo Nombre de Jesus; it is located in the island of Sebu, in the province of Bicayas or Pintados. It was the first Spanish settlement and was founded by the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the first governor. It is a fine seaport, whose water is very clear and deep, and capable of holding many vessels. The city has an excellent stone fort, which mounts a considerable quantity of artillery, and which has its commandant and officers for the guard and defense of the port and of the city. It is sufficiently garrisoned with regulars, and is under command of the alcalde-mayor, the military commander of the province, who lives in the city. The settlement contains about two hundred Spanish inhabitants who live in houses of wood. It has a cabildo, consisting of two alcaldes-in-ordinary, eight regidors, and an alguacil-mayor and his officers. It has a bishop and his church, like those of other cities of these islands, without prebendaries.[189]

[189] The Rizal edition omits a considerable portion of this paragraph. The omission is as follows: *para guarda del puerto, y defenfa de la ciudad, con baftante guarnicion de foldados de paga, a orden del alcalde mayor, capitan a guerra de la prouincia,*

The city is provided with food by, and is a station for, the ships going from Maluco to Manila. Through his Majesty's concession they keep there a deep-draft merchant vessel, which generally leaves its port for Nueva España, laden with the merchandise of the products gathered in those provinces. It has a monastery of Augustinian religious and a seminary of the Society of Jesus.

The town of Arevalo was founded on the island of Oton [Panay], during the term of Don Gonçalo Ronquillo.[190] It contains about eighty Spanish inhabitants, and is located close to the sea. It has a wooden fort, which mounts some artillery, and a monastery of the Order of St. Augustine; also a parish church, with its own vicar and secular priest. This church belongs to the diocese of the Sebu bishopric.

It has a cabildo, consisting of alcaldes, regidors, and other officials. There is one alcalde-mayor and military leader in those provinces. The town is well supplied with all kinds of provisions, sold at very low rates.

The settlement of Villa Fernandina,[191] which was founded in the province of the Ilocos on the island of Luzon, is settled by Spaniards, but very few of them remain there. It has a church, with its own vicar and secular priest. Now no mention will be made of it, on account of what has been said. The

*que reſide en la ciudad. Sera la poblazon, de dozientos vezinos Eſpañoles, con caſas de madera, tiene Cabildo, de dos alcaldes ordinarios, ocho rejidores, alguazil mayor y ſus oficiales.*

[190] Now [1890] of slight importance. Of its former grandeur there remain only 1,000 inhabitants, with a parochial house, a justice's house, a prison, and a primary school.– RIZAL.

[191] Vigan or Bigan.– RIZAL.

alcalde-mayor of the province resides there, and the town is situated in the diocese of the Cagayan bishopric.

From the earliest beginning of the conquest and pacification of the Filipinas Islands, the preaching of the holy gospel therein and the conversion of the natives to our holy Catholic faith were undertaken. The first to set hand to this task were the religious of the Order of St. Augustine, who went there with the adelantado Legazpi in the fleet of discovery, and those of the same order who went afterward to labor in this work, and toiled therein with great fervor and zeal. Thus, finding the harvest in good season, they gathered the first fruits of it, and converted and baptized many infidels throughout the said islands.[192]

Next to them in the fame of this conversion, the discalced religious of the Order of St. Francis went to the islands by way of Nueva España; then those of the Order of St. Dominic, and of the Society of Jesus.[193] Lastly, the discalced Augustinian Recollects went. One and all, after being established in the islands, worked in the conversion and instruction of the natives. Consequently they have made – and there are now in all the islands – a great number of baptized natives, besides many others in many parts, who, for want of laborers, have been put off, and are awaiting this blessing and priests to minister to them. Hitherto there have been but few missions in charge of secular priests, as not many of these have

[192] Legazpi also had two secular priests, Juan de Vivero and Juan de Villanueva, who had part in the first conversions.– RIZAL.

[193] The Jesuits preceded the Dominicans seven years as missionaries to the Filipinas. The first Jesuits came over with Domingo de Salazar, the first bishop, and his Dominican associate.– RIZAL.

gone to the islands; and as very few have been ordained there, for lack of students.

The Order of St. Augustine has many missions in the islands of Pintados and has established and occupied monasteries and various visitas.[194] In the island of Luzon, they have those of the province of Ylocos, some in Pangasinan, and all those of La Pampanga – a large number of monasteries; while in the province of Manila and its vicinity they have others, which are flourishing.

The Order of St. Dominic has the missions of the province of Cagayan, and others in the province of Pangasinan, where are many monasteries and visitas. They also administer others about the city.

The Order of St. Francis has some missions and monasteries about Manila, all the province of Camarines and the coast opposite, and La Laguna de Bay. These include many missions.

The Society of Jesus has three large missions in the neighborhood of Manila, which have many visitas. In the Pintados it has many others on the islands of Sebu, Leite, Ybabao, Camar [Samar], Bohol, and others near by. They have good men, who are solicitous for the conversion of the natives.

These four orders have produced many good results in the conversion of these islands, as above stated; and in good sooth the people have taken firm hold of the faith, as they are a people of so good understanding. They have recognized the errors of their paganism and the truths of the Christian religion; and they possess good and well-built churches and monasteries of wood with their reredoses and

[194] *Visita*: here meaning a district which has no resident missionary, but is visited by religious from some mission station, on which the visita is therefore dependent.

beautiful ornaments, and all the utensils, crosses, candlesticks, and chalices of silver and gold. Many devotions are offered, and there are many confraternities. There is assiduity in taking the sacraments and in attendance on the Divine services; and the people are careful to entertain and support their religious (to whom they show great obedience and respect) by the many alms that they give them, as well as by those that they give for the suffrages and the burial of their dead, which they provide with all punctuality and liberality.

At the same time that the religious undertook to teach the natives the precepts of religion, they labored to instruct them in matters of their own improvement, and established schools for the reading and writing of Spanish among the boys. They taught them to serve in the church, to sing the plain-song, and to the accompaniment of the organ; to play the flute, to dance, and to sing; and to play the harp, guitar, and other instruments. In this they show very great adaptability, especially about Manila; where there are many fine choirs of chanters and musicians composed of natives, who are skilful and have good voices. There are many dancers, and musicians on the other instruments which solemnize and adorn the feasts of the most holy sacrament, and many other feasts during the year. The native boys present dramas and comedies, both in Spanish and in their own language, very charmingly. This is due to the care and interest of the religious, who work tirelessly for the natives' advancement.[195]

[195] Cf. with the musical ability of the Filipinos that displayed by the North American Indians, as described in *The Jesuit Relations,* vols. vi, p. 183; xviii, p. 161; xxiii, p. 213; xxvii, p. 117; xxxi, p. 219; xxxviii, pp. 259, 263; etc.

In these islands there is no native province or settlement which resists conversion or does not desire it. But, as above stated, baptism has been postponed in some districts, for lack of workers to remain with the people, in order that they may not retrograde and return to their idolatries. In this work, the best that is possible is done, for the mission-fields are very large and extensive. In many districts the religious make use, in their visitas, of certain of the natives who are clever and well instructed, so that these may teach the others to pray daily, instruct them in other matters touching religion, and see that they come to mass at the central missions; and in this way they succeed in preserving and maintaining their converts.

Hitherto, the orders who control these missions in virtue of the *omnimodo* and other apostolic concessions [196] have attended to the conversion of the natives, administered the sacraments, looked after the spiritual and temporal and ecclesiastical affairs of the natives, and absolved them in cases of difficulty. But now that there are an archbishop and bishops, this is being curtailed, and the management of these affairs is being given to the bishops, as the archbishop's vicars – although not to such an extent, nor has the administration of these natives been placed in their charge, in matters of justice, and under the

[196] Chirino (chapter vii) mentions the apportionment, by the king, of distinct districts to the different orders. The Augustinian authorities in Mexico granted permission to those of their order going to the Philippines to establish themselves wherever they wished in the islands (see VOL. II, pp. 161-168), and the latter exercised the omnimodo [*i.e.*, entire] ecclesiastical authority, as conceded by the popes, until the arrival of the Franciscans in 1577. Papal concessions probably marked out the districts as apportioned by the king.

inspection and superintendence of the bishops, as they have endeavored to obtain.[197]

The governor and royal Audiencia of Manila attend to what it is advisable to provide and direct for the greatest accomplishment and advancement of this conversion, and the administration of the natives and their missions – both by causing the encomenderos to assist the religious and churches, in the encomiendas that they enjoy, with the stipends and necessary expenses of the missions; and by furnishing from the royal revenues what pertains to it, which is no less a sum.[198] They also ordain whatever else is required to be provided and remedied for the said missions and for the advancement of the natives. This also is attended to by the archbishop and the bishops in what pertains to them in their duty and charge as pastors.

The Holy Office of the Inquisition, residing in Mexico of Nueva España, has its commissaries, servants, and helpers in Manila and in the bishoprics of the islands, who attend to matters touching the

[197] Morga refers, with his characteristic prudence, to the great question of diocesan visits, which commenced with Fray Domingo de Salazar, and which could not be ended until 1775, in the time of Anda – thanks to the energy of the latter and the courage of Archbishop Don Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, when after great disturbances they succeeded in subjecting the regular curas to the inspection of the bishops. Morga, however, shows that he did not approve the claims of the religious to independence, but does not dare to state so distinctly.– Rizal.

[198] The Augustinians received also one-fourth part of the tribute from the villages while they were building churches; and 200 pesos fuertes [*i.e.*, ten-real pieces] and 200 cavans [the cavan equals 25 gantas, or 137 Spanish libras] of cleaned rice for four religious who heard confessions during Lent. Fifty cavans of cleaned rice per person seems to us too much. It results that each friar consumes 12½ libras of rice or 27 chupas [the chupa is ⅛ ganta or 3 litros] daily, thirteen times as much as any Indian.– Rizal.

Holy Office. They never fail to have plenty to do there because of the entrance of so many strangers into those districts. However, this holy tribunal does not have jurisdiction of the causes pertaining to the natives, as the latter are so recently converted.

All these islands are subdued, and are governed from Manila by means of alcaldes-mayor, corregidors, and lieutenants, each of whom rules and administers justice in his own district and province. Appeals from their acts and sentences go to the royal Audiencia. The governor and captain-general provides what pertains to government and war.

The chiefs, who formerly held the other natives in subjection, now have no power over them in the tyrannical manner of former days. This was not the least benefit received by these natives in having been freed from such servitude. However, it is true that matters touching the slavery of former days have remained on the same footing as before. The king our sovereign has ordered by his decrees that the honors of the chiefs be preserved to them as such; and that the other natives recognize them and assist them with certain of the labors that they used to give when pagans. This is done with the lords and possessors of barangays, and those belonging to such and such a barangay are under that chief's control. When he harvests his rice, they go one day to help him; and the same if he builds a house, or rebuilds one. This chief lord of a barangay collects tribute from his adherents, and takes charge of these collections, to pay them to the encomendero.[199]

[199] *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vi, tit. vii, ley xvi, contains the following in regard to the native chiefs: "It is not right that the Indian chiefs of Filipinas be in a worse condition after conversion; rather should they have such treatment that would gain

Besides the above, each village has a governor [200] who is elected. He and his constables who are called *vilangos* [201] comprise the usual magistracy among the natives. The governor hears civil suits where a moderate sum is involved; in appeal, the case goes to the corregidor or alcalde-mayor of the province. These governors are elected annually by the votes of all the married natives of such and such a village. The governor of Manila confirms the election, and gives the title of governor to the one elected, and orders him to take the residencia of the outgoing governor.[202] This governor, in addition to the vilangos and scrivener (before whom he makes his acts in writing, in the language of the natives of that province),[203] holds also the chiefs – lords of barangays, and those who are not so – under his rule and government, and, for any special service, such as collections of tributes, and assignments of personal serv-

their affection and keep them loyal, so that with the spiritual blessings that God has communicated to them by calling them to His true knowledge, the temporal blessings may be joined, and they may live contentedly and comfortably. Therefore, we order the governors of those islands to show them good treatment and entrust them, in our name, with the government of the Indians, of whom they were formerly the lords. In all else the governors shall see that the chiefs are benefited justly, and the Indians shall pay them something as a recognition, as they did during the period of their paganism, provided it be without prejudice to the tributes that are to be paid us, or prejudicial to that which pertains to their encomenderos." Felipe II, Madrid, June 11, 1594.

[200] The *gobernadorcillo* ["little or petty governor"].

[201] *Bilangō* signifies today in Tagál "the act of imprisoning," and *bilanguan* "the prison."– RIZAL.

[202] For good expositions of local government in modern times, see Bowring, *Visit to the Philippine Isles* (London, 1859), pp. 87-93; and Montero y Vidal, *Archipiélago Filipino* (Madrid, 1886), pp. 162-168.

[203] These are now [1890] made in Spanish.– RIZAL.

ices, as his *datos* and *mandones*.[204] They do not allow the chiefs to oppress the timaguas or slaves under their control.

The same customs observed by these natives in their paganism, are observed by them since they have become Christians, in so far as they are not contrary to natural law, especially as to their slavery, successions, inheritances, adoptions, wills, and lawful trading. In their suits, they always allege and prove the custom, and are judged by it, according to royal decrees to that effect. In other causes which do not involve their customs, and in criminal cases, the matter is determined by law as among Spaniards.

All of these islands and their natives, so far as they were pacified, were apportioned into encomiendas from the beginning. To the royal crown were allotted those which were chief towns and ports, and the dwellers of the cities and towns; and also other special encomiendas and villages in all the provinces, for the necessities and expenses of the royal estate. All the rest was assigned to the conquerors and settlers who have served and labored for the conquest and pacification, and in the war. This matter is in charge of the governor, who takes into consideration the merits and services of the claimants.[205] In like

[204] Names of petty officers: the former the name of an officer in oriental countries; the second signifying one who commands. Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera (*Costumbres de los Tagalos*, Madrid, 1892, p. 10, note 1) says the word dato is now unused by the Tagáls. *Datu* or *datuls* primitively signified "grandfather," or "head of the family," which was equivalent to the head of the barangay. This name is used in Mindanao and Joló to designate certain chiefs.

[205] A later law in *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. vi, tit. viii, ley xi) regulates the encomienda-giving power as follows: "The governor and captain-general of Filipinas shall apportion the encomi-

manner the villages that become vacant are assigned. There are many very excellent encomiendas throughout the islands, and they offer many profits, both by the amount of their tributes and by the nature and value of what is paid as tribute.[206] The encomienda lasts, according to the royal laws and decrees, and by the regular order and manner of succession to them, for two lives; but it may be extended to a third life, by permission. After it becomes vacant, it is again assigned and granted anew.

The tributes paid to their encomenderos by the natives were assigned by the first governor, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, in the provinces of Vicayas and Pintados, and in the islands of Luzon and its vicinity; they were equal to the sum of eight reals annually for an entire tribute from each tributario. The natives were to pay it in their products – in gold, cloth, cotton, rice, bells, fowls, and whatever else they possessed or harvested. The fixed price and value of

endas, in accordance with the regulations to worthy persons, without having other respect than to the service of God our Lord, and our service, the welfare of the public cause, and the remuneration of the most deserving. Within sixty days, reckoned from the time that he shall have heard of the vacancy, he shall be obliged to apportion them. If he does not do so, the right to apportion them shall devolve upon and pertain to our royal Audiencia of those islands, and we order the Audiencia to apportion them, paying heed to the laws, within six days, and to avail itself of the edicts and diligences issued by the governor without other new ones. In case the governor shall not have issued edicts and diligences, the Audiencia shall issue them and make the provision within twenty days." Felipe III, Madrid, June 4, 1620.

[206] The rapidity with which many of these encomenderos amassed great wealth in a few years is known, and that they left colossal fortunes at their death. Some were not satisfied with the tributes and with what they demanded, but made false measures, and balances that weighed twice as much as was indicated. They often exacted the tributes in certain products only, and appraised the same at what value they wished.– RIZAL.

each article was assigned so that, when the tribute was paid in any one of them, or in all of them, it should not exceed the value of the eight reals. So it has continued until now, and the governors have increased the appraisements and values of the products at different times, as they have deemed advisable.

The encomenderos have made great profits in collecting in kind, for, after they acquired possession of the products, they sold them at higher prices. By this they increased their incomes and the proceeds of their encomiendas considerably; until a few years ago his Majesty, by petition of the religious and the pressure that they brought to bear on him in this matter, ordered for this region that the natives should pay their tribute in whatever they wished – in kind or in money – without being compelled to do otherwise. Consequently, when they should have paid their eight reals, they would have fulfilled their obligation. Accordingly this rule was initiated; but experience demonstrates that, although it seemed a merciful measure, and one favorable to the natives, it is doing them great injury. For, since they naturally dislike to work, they do not sow, spin, dig gold, rear fowls, or raise other food supplies, as they did before, when they had to pay the tribute in those articles. They easily obtain, without so much work, the peso of money which is the amount of their tribute. Consequently it follows that the natives have less capital and wealth, because they do not work; and the country, which was formerly very well provided and well-supplied with all products, is now suffering want and deprivation of them. The owners of the encomiendas, both those of his Majesty and those of private persons who possess them, have sustained

considerable loss and reduction in the value of the encomiendas.

When Gomez Perez Dasmariñas was appointed governor of the Filipinas, he brought royal decrees ordering the formation of the camp in Manila, with an enrollment of four hundred paid soldiers, with their officers, galleys, and other military supplies, for the defense and security of the country. Before that time all the Spanish inhabitants had attended to that without any pay. Then an increase of two reals to each tributario over the eight reals was ordered. This was to be collected by the encomenderos at the same time when they collected the eight reals of the tribute, and was to be delivered and placed in the royal treasury. There this amount was to be entered on an account separate from that of the other revenue of his Majesty, and was to be applied in the following manner: one and one-half reals for the expenses of the said camp and war stores; and the remaining half real for the pay of the prebendaries of the Manila church, which his Majesty pays from his treasury, until such time as their tithes and incomes suffice for their sustenance.[207]

[207] A law in *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. vi, tit. v, ley lxv) cites the above provision and confirms it anew: "In order to provide instruction for certain villages of the Filipinas Islands, which did not enjoy it, or if they had it, it was not sufficient, it was resolved to increase the tribute, which was formerly eight reals, or its value, per peso, to the proportion of ten Castilian reals apiece. It was ordered that the increased amount be placed in our royal treasury, and one-half real of it be applied to paying the obligations which had to be met in regard to the tithes, while the one and one-half reals would remain to pay those soldiers there and for other purposes; in consideration of the fact that the funds necessary to send out religious, who are employed in the preaching of the holy gospel, are supplied from our royal treasury, and that the encomenderos were obliged to pay for the ordinary instruction from the eight reals, and the part of the building of churches that fell to

These tributes are collected from all the natives, Christians and infidels, in their entirety – except that in those encomiendas without instruction the encomendero does not take the fourth part of the eight reals (which equals two reals) for himself, since that encomienda has no instruction or expenses for it; but he takes them and deposits them in Manila, in a fund called " the fourths." [208] The money obtained from this source is applied to and spent in hospitals for the natives, and in other works beneficial to them, at the option of the governor. As fast as the encomiendas are supplied with instruction and religious, the collection of these fourths and their expenditure in these special works cease.

Some provinces have taken the census of their natives; and according to these the tributes and the assignment of the two reals are collected.

In most of the provinces no census has been taken, and the tributes are collected when due by the en-

their share, while the Indians had the choice of paying all the tribute in money or in products, or in both. Thus was it enacted and voted. We order no innovation to be made in this regard, in consideration of the welfare and conservation of those provinces and their natives, and so that the choice of paying in money shall not occasion any lack of products and cause sterility." Felipe II, San Lorenzo, August 1589; Felipe III, Zamora, February 16, 1602.

[208] The following law regulates supervision of the accounts of this fund: " Inasmuch as, when any encomienda of the Filipinas Islands happens to be without instruction, the fourth part of the tribute collected by the encomendero is deposited in a box with three keys, in order that it may be converted into benefices for the Indians; and as it is advisable that that ordinance be executed sensibly and properly, and that we should know the amount of it and how it is apportioned: therefore, we order our presidents, the governors of the Filipinas Islands, that whenever they deem it advisable to examine the account, they shall appoint for that purpose one of the officials of our royal treasury of those islands – the one most suitable for it – who shall examine them. The fiscal of our

comenderos and their collectors, through the chiefs of their encomiendas, by means of the lists and memoranda of former years. From them the names of the deceased and of those who have changed their residence are erased, and the names of those who have grown up, and of those who have recently moved into the encomienda, are added. When any shortage is perceived in the accounts, a new count is requested and made.

The natives are free to move from one island to another, and from one province to another, and pay their tribute for that year in which they move and change their residence in the place to which they move; and to move from a Christian village that has instruction to another village possessing it. But, on the other hand, they may not move from a place having instruction to one without it, nor in the same village from one barangay to another, nor from one faction to another. In this respect, the necessary precautions are made by the government, and the necessary provisions by the Audiencia, so that this system may be kept, and so that all annoyances resulting from the moving of the settled natives of one place to another place may be avoided.

Neither are the natives allowed to go out of their villages for trade, except by permission of the governor, or of his alcaldes-mayor and justices, or even of the religious, who most often have been embarrassed by this, because of the instruction. This is

royal Audiencia shall investigate them before they are finished; and shall ask and see that they are executed with the care that the matter requires in regard to their items, charges, articles, and balances, and whatever else is advisable. He shall advise our president and governor of it all, so that he may assist him in what may be necessary, and advise us of the result." Felipe III, Madrid, June 4, 1620, in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. i, tit. xiii, ley xiv.

done so that the natives may not wander about aimlessly when there is no need of it, away from their homes and settlements.

Those natives who possess slaves pay their tributes for them if the slaves are *saguiguilirs*. If the slaves are *namamahays* living outside their owners' houses, they pay their own tributes, inasmuch as they possess their own houses and means of gain.

The Spaniards used to have slaves from these natives, whom they had bought from them, and others whom they obtained in certain expeditions during the conquest and pacification of the islands. This was stopped by a brief of his Holiness [209] and by royal decrees. Consequently, all of these slaves who were then in the possession of the Spanish, and who were natives of these islands, in whatever manner they had been acquired, were freed; and the Spaniards were forever prohibited from holding them as slaves, or

[209] The bull here referred to was issued by Gregory XIV, and dated April 18, 1591. The seventh section reads as follows: "Finally, since, as we have learned, our very dear son in Christ, Philip, Catholic King of the Spains, on account of the many deceits wont to be practised therein, has forbidden any Spaniard in the aforesaid Philippine Islands to dare to take, or have, or hold any slaves, or servants, even by right of just and unjust war, or of purchase, or by whatsoever other title, or pretext; although some, despite the edict, or mandate, of King Philip himself, still keep the same slaves in their power: therefore in order that, as is befitting to reason and equity, the Indians themselves may freely and safely without any fear of bondage come and go to their Christian doctrinas, and to their own homes and possessions, we order and command all and singular the persons living in the same islands, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, order, and rank they may be, in virtue of holy obedience and under pain of excommunication, on the publication of these presents, in accordance with the edict, or mandate of the said King Philip, to release wholly free, without deceit and guile, whatsoever Indian slaves and servants they may have, or hold; nor ever for the future in any manner to take or keep captives, or servants."– [Translated from the original by Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A.]

from capturing them for any reason, or under pretext of war, or in any other manner. The service rendered by these natives is in return for pay and daily wages. The other slaves and captives that the Spaniards possess are Cafres and blacks brought by the Portuguese by way of India, and are held in slavery justifiably, in accordance with the provincial councils and the permissions of the prelates and justices of those districts.

The natives of these islands have also their personal services, which they are obliged to render – in some parts more than in others – to the Spaniards. These are done in different ways, and are commonly called the *polo*.[210] For, where there are alcaldes-mayor and justices, they assign and distribute certain natives by the week for the service of their houses. They pay these servants a moderate wage, which generally amounts to one-fourth real per day, and rice for their food. The same is done by the religious for the mission, and for their monasteries and churches, and for their works, and for public works.[211]

The Indians also furnish rice, and food of all

[210] This [1890] has disappeared from legislation, although the personal services for España are still continued, and are fifteen days.– RIZAL.

[211] *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vi, tit. xii, ley xii, treating of personal services, reads as follows: "The religious and the ministers of the instruction, and the alcaldes-mayor of the Filipinas Islands have a weekly repartimiento of Indians which they call *tanores*, so that the Indians may serve them without pay; and besides the villages contribute to them the fish necessary to them on Fridays, which is against reason and justice. We order the governor and captain-general, the Audiencia, and any other of our justices, to stop and not allow this personal service and contribution, so that the villages shall in no manner perform it, and we declare the villages free from any obligation that they have or may have." This law is dated Madrid, March 17, 1608.

kinds, at the prices at which they are valued and sold among the natives. These prices are always very moderate. The datos, vilangos, and fiscals make the division, collect, and take these supplies from the natives; and in the same manner they supply their encomenderos when these go to make the collections.

The greatest service rendered by these natives is on occasions of war, when they act as rowers and crews for the vireys and vessels that go on the expeditions, and as pioneers for any service that arises in the course of the war, although their pay and wages are given them.

In the same way natives are assigned and apportioned for the king's works, such as the building of ships, the cutting of wood, the trade of making the rigging,[212] the work in the artillery foundry, and the service in the royal [213] magazines; and they are paid their stipend and daily wage.

In other things pertaining to the service of the Spaniards and their expeditions, works, and any other service, performed by the natives, the service is voluntary, and paid by mutual agreement;[214] for, as hitherto, the Spaniards have worked no mines, nor have they given themselves to the gains to be derived from field labors, there is no occasion for employing the natives in anything of that sort.

Most of the Spaniards of the Filipinas Islands reside in the city of Manila, the capital of the king-

[212] Taal was one of the villages where the most rigging was made for the royal ships.– RIZAL.

[213] This word *reales* is omitted in the Rizal edition.

[214] A comparatively early law (*Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vi, tit. i, ley xv), prohibits the forcible removal of the natives for expeditions of conquest from one island to another. It is as follows: "We order that the Indians in the Filipinas Islands be not taken

dom, and where the chief trade and commerce is carried on. Some encomenderos live in provinces or districts adjacent to Manila, while other Spaniards live in the cities of Segovia, Caçeres, Santisimo Nombre de Jesus (in Sebu), and in the town of Arevalo, where they are settled, and where most of them have their encomiendas.

Spaniards may not go to the Indian villages,[215] except for the collection of the tributes when they are due; and then only the alcaldes-mayor, corregidors, and justices. It is not permitted these to remain continually in one settlement of their district, but they must visit as much of it as possible. They must change their residence and place of abode every four months to another chief village and settlement, where all the natives may obtain the benefit of their presence; and so that the natives may receive as slight annoyance as possible in supporting them and in the ordinary service that they render them.[216]

The governor makes appointments to all offices. When the term of office expires, the royal Audiencia orders the residencia of each official to be taken, and his case is decided in accordance therewith; and until the residencia is completed, the incumbent cannot be appointed to any other duty or office. The governor also appoints commandants of forts, com-

from one island to another forcibly in order to make incursions, and against their will, unless it be under very necessary circumstances, and paying them for their work and trouble. They shall be well treated and receive no injury." Felipe II, Madrid, November 7, 1574.

[215] In Java also the Dutch restrict Europeans from roaming about the country; this is a good regulation for the protection of the inhabitants.– STANLEY.

[216] Stanley praises these regulations; Rizal deplores them, as keeping the men in authority out of touch with the people.

panies, and other military officials, in all the cities, towns, and hamlets of the islands.[217]

Certain offices of regidors and notaries have been sold by royal decree for one life. But the sale of these offices has been superseded, as it is now considered that the price paid for them is of little consideration, while the disadvantage of perpetuating the purchasers in office by this method is greater.

Elections of alcaldes-in-ordinary for all the Spanish towns are held on New Year's day by the cabildo and magistracy. The residencias of these alcaldes-in-ordinary and their cabildos are ordered by his Majesty to be taken at the same time as that of the governor and captain-general of the islands is taken; and they give account of the administration of the revenues and the estates under their care. However, the governor may take it before this, every year, or whenever he thinks it expedient and cause the balances of their accounts to be collected. With the governor's advice and permission the expenses desired by the towns are made.

The city of Manila has sufficient public funds for certain years, through the fines imposed by its judges; in its own particular possessions, inside and outside the city; in the reweighing of the merchandise and the rents of all the shops and sites of the Sangleys in the parián; and in the monopoly on playing cards. All this was conceded to the city by his

[217] *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iv, tit. x, ley vii, has the following law, dated Madrid, March 17, 1608: "The governor and captain-general of Filipinas shall for the present appoint the magistracy [*regimiento*] of the city of Manila, choosing persons who shall prove to be suitable for the office and zealous for the service of God our Lord, and for ours; and he shall not remove them without our special order."

Majesty, especially for the expenses of its fortification.[218] These revenues are spent for that purpose; for the salaries of its officials, and those of the agents sent to España; and for the feasts of the city, chief of which are St. Potenciana's day, May nineteen, when the Spaniards entered and seized the city, and the day of St. Andrew, November 30, the date on which the pirate Limahon was conquered and driven from the city. On that day the city officials take out the municipal standard, and to the sound of music go to vespers and mass at the church of San Andres, where the entire city, with the magistracy and cabildo and the royal Audiencia, assemble with all solemnity. The above revenues are also used in receiving the governors at their first arrival in the country, in the kings' marriage feasts, and the births of princes, and in the honors and funeral celebrations for the kings and princes who die. In all the above the greatest possible display is made.

The other cities and settlements do not possess as yet so many sources of wealth or revenue, or the occasions on which to spend them – although, as far as possible, they take part in them, in all celebrations of the same kind.

The Spaniards living in the islands are divided into five classes of people: namely, prelates, religious, and ecclesiastical ministers, both secular and regular; encomenderos, settlers, and conquerors; soldiers, officers, and officials of war (both on land and sea), and those for navigation; merchants, business men, and traders; and his Majesty's agents for govern-

[218] Many royal decrees related to playing cards. The monopoly ceased to exist perhaps before the government monopoly on betel was initiated.– Rizal (in part).

ment, justice, and administration of his royal revenue.

The ecclesiastical prelates have already been stated, and are as follows: The archbishop of Manila, who resides in the city, as metropolitan, in charge of his cathedral church; he has a salary of four thousand pesos,[219] which is paid from the royal treasury annually. Likewise the salaries paid to the holders of the dignidades,[220] canonries, and other prebends, and those performing other services, are paid in the same manner. They are all under royal patronage, and are provided in accordance with the king's orders. The archbishop's office and jurisdiction consists of and extends to all, both the spiritual and temporal, that is ecclesiastic, and to its management.[221]

[219] In 1890 he received 12,000 pesos.– RIZAL.

[220] The prebend, in Spanish cathedrals, superior to a canonry. The following laws (xvi and xvii, respectively) as to the appointments of vacant prebends, are found in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. i, tit. vi.

"Because of the great distance from these kingdoms to the Filipinas Islands and the inconvenience that might result from the prebends falling vacant without any provision being made until we present those who shall take them, we order the governor and captain-general of the said islands that, when dignidades, canonries, and other prebends in the metropolitan church become vacant, he shall present other persons of the sufficiency and characteristics required, so that they may serve in place of their predecessors, until we provide persons for them. They shall receive the stipend that their predecessors shall have received. The governor shall observe the rules made by the laws of this titulo in his presentations." Felipe II, Guadalupe, March 26, 1580.

"We order our governors of the Filipinas Islands, and charge the archbishops of Manila, that when any prebends of that church become vacant, they send us three nominations for each one, instead of one only, with very minute advice of their sufficiency, learning, degrees, and all other qualities that are found in those proposed, so that after examination, we may appoint the one most suitable." Felipe III, Lerma, June 28, 1608.

[221] In 1890 the Filipinas were paying 36,670 pesos annually for

The bishop of the city of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus in Sibu, that of Segovia in Cagayan, and that of Caceres in Camarines, have the same rights of jurisdiction and enjoy the same privileges in their dioceses, since they are suffragans of the archbishop of Manila; appeal from their judgments is made to the latter, and he summons and convokes them to his provincial councils whenever necessary. They receive each an annual salary of five hundred thousand maravedis for their support, which is paid from the royal treasury of Manila, besides their offerings and pontifical dues. All together it is quite sufficient for their support, according to the convenience of things and the cheapness of the country. At present the bishops do not possess churches with prebendaries nor is any money set aside for that.[222]

The regular prelates are the provincials of the four mendicant orders, namely, St. Dominic, St. Augustine, St. Francis, the Society of Jesus, and the discalced Augustinians.[223] Each prelate governs his own order and visits the houses. The orders have nearly all the missions to the natives under their charge, in whatever pertains to the administration of the sacraments and conversion – by favor of, and in accordance with, their privileges and the apostolic bulls, in which until now they have maintained themselves – and in what pertains to judicial matters, as

one dean, four dignitarios, five canons, four racioneros, four medio-racioneros, and other inferior helpers, including the choir, a total of twenty-six individuals; 3,330 pesos annually is to be added for sacristans, singers, and orchestra.– RIZAL.

[222] Their salary amounted to from 750 to 1,000 pesos. Now [1890] the salary of each bishop is 6,000 pesos, with two father assistants at 100 to 150 pesos per month.– RIZAL.

[223] Thus in original, but it is carelessly worded; for the Society of Jesus is not one of the mendicant orders.

vicars of the bishops, and through appointment and authorization of the latter. The discalced Augustinians as yet have no missions, as they have but recently entered the islands.

The monasteries are supported by certain special incomes that they possess and have acquired – especially those of the Augustinians and those of the Society – and by help and concessions granted by his Majesty. The Dominicans and Franciscans do not possess or allow incomes or properties;[224] and for them, as for the other orders, the principal source of revenue is in the alms, offerings, and aid given by the districts where they are established and where they have charge. This help is given by both Spaniards and natives, very piously and generously. They are aided also by the stipend given them from the encomiendas for the instruction that they give there. Consequently the religious of the orders live well and with the comfort necessary.

The first encomenderos, conquerors, and settlers of the islands, and their issue, are honorably supported by the products of their encomiendas, and by certain means of gain and trading interests that they possess, as do the rest of the people. There are a great number of them, each one of whom lives and possesses his house in the city and settlement of Spaniards in whose province he has his encomienda. This they do in order not to abandon their encomiendas, and thus they are nearer the latter for their needs and for collections.

Now but few of the first conquerors who gained the country and went there for its conquest with the

[224] All of the orders held property and had regular means of revenue, later; while the Dominicans held enormous property in both the islands and at Hong Kong.– RIZAL.

adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi remain alive.

The soldiers and officers of war and of naval expeditions formerly consisted of all the dwellers and inhabitants of the islands, who rendered military service without any pay or salary. They went on all the expeditions and pacifications that arose, and guarded the forts and presidios, and cities and settlements. This was their principal exercise and occupation. They were rewarded by the governor, who provided them with encomiendas, offices, and profits of the country according to their merits and services.[225]

At that time the soldiers of the islands were the best in the Indias. They were very skilful and well-disciplined by both land and sea, and were esteemed and respected by all those nations. They gloried in their arms, and in acquitting themselves valiantly.

Afterward, when Gomez Perez Das Mariñas entered upon the government of the Filipinas, he founded the regular camp of four hundred soldiers: the arquebusiers, with pay of six pesos per month; the musketeers, with eight pesos; six captains, with annual pay of four hundred and twenty pesos apiece; their alféreces, sergeants, corporals, standard-bearers, and drummers, with pay in proportion to their duties; one master-of-camp, with annual pay of one thousand four hundred pesos; one sargento-mayor with captain's pay; one adjutant of the sar-

[225] The following law is from *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. iii, tit. x, ley xiv): "The governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands shall be careful to reward the soldiers who shall have served us there, and their sons, with the posts and emoluments at his disposal, in accordance with the ordinances, and [he shall do it] with all fairness, so that they may have some remuneration. He shall keep *in toto* the laws relating to this." Felipe III, Lerma, July 23, 1605; Madrid, December 19, 1618.

gento-mayor and field-captain, with monthly pay of ten pesos; two castellans; commandants of the two fortresses of Manila, with four hundred pesos apiece annually; their lieutenants; squads of soldiers and artillerymen; one general of galleys, with annual pay of eight hundred pesos; each galley one captain, with annual pay of three hundred pesos; their boatswains, boatswains' mates, coxswains, alguacils of the galleys, soldiers, artillerymen, master-carpenters, riggers, sailors, conscripts,[226] galley-crews of Spanish, Sangley, and native convicts, condemned for crimes; and, when there is lack of convicts, good rowers are obtained from the natives for pay, for the period of the expedition and the occasion of the voyage.[227]

[226] *Consejeles*: men sent to service by order of a municipal council.

[227] The pay of various of the above officers and men in 1890 was as follows: Filipino infantrymen, 4 pesos per month; Spanish artillerymen, 13-15 pesos, plus some céntimos, per month; Filipino artillerymen, 4 pesos, plus some céntimos, per month; captains, 1,500-1,800 pesos per year; alféreces, 975-1,050 pesos per year; first sergeants, European, 318-360 pesos per year – native, 180 pesos per year; second sergeants, European, 248.06-307.50 pesos per year – native, 156 pesos per year; first corporals, European, 189.56-202 pesos per year – native, 84 pesos per year; second corporals, European, 174-192 pesos per year – native corporals, 72 pesos per year; the *segundo cabo* [lieutenant-commander], 12,000 pesos per year; sargento-mayor *de plaza* (now lieutenant-colonel), 225 pesos per month; vice-admiral [*contra-almirante, general de galeras*], 16,392 pesos per year; frigate and ship captains, 2,700-5,760 pesos per year, according to their duties and grades.– RIZAL.

The following laws from *Recopilación de leyes* regulate the pay of the soldiers and some of the officers, and impose certain restrictions on the soldiers, and provide for certain appointments: "Each soldier established in the Filipinas Islands shall be paid eight pesos per month, each captain, fifty, each alférez, twenty, and each sergeant, ten. The governor and captain-general of the said islands shall give all the men of the companies thirty ducados to each company of additional pay, as is done in other districts, providing the additional pay of each one does not exceed ten pesos per year. We order that all be well paid. When the governor shall provide

In the vessels and fleets of large vessels for the Nueva España line, the ships that are sent carry a general, admiral, masters, boatswains, commissaries, stewards, alguacils, sergeants of marine artillery [*condestables*], artillerymen, sailors, pilots and their assistants, common seamen, carpenters, calkers, and coopers, all in his Majesty's pay, on the account of Nueva España, from whose royal treasury they are paid. All that is necessary for this navigation is supplied there. Their provisions and appointments are made by the viceroy; and this has hitherto pertained to him, even though the ships may have been constructed in the Filipinas. They sail thence with their cargo of merchandise for Nueva España, and return thence to the Filipinas with the reënforcements of soldiers and supplies, and whatever else is necessary for the camp, besides passengers and reli-

any of the captains, officers, or soldiers with an encomienda, or other post, he shall not allow him to draw pay. While they draw pay they shall not be allowed to trade or traffic, so that that occupation may not divert or distract them from their proper exercise and employment of war. For the same reason, no pay shall be granted to any soldier who serves any other person, whomsoever he be." Felipe II, Añover, August 9, 1589, clause 34 of his instructions; Felipe III, Ventosilla, November 4, 1606; lib. iii, tit. x, ley xiii.

"We order that when the post of general of artillery of the Filipinas Islands becomes vacant, either by the death or promotion of its occupant, or for any other cause, the governor and captain-general shall not fill it without first notifying us and without our special order for it. We permit him to appoint a captain of artillery and a sargento-mayor, and he may assign each of them thirty pesos' pay. We approve the increase of two pesos in the pay of the musketeers. It is our will that the pay of the governor's captain of the guard be increased five pesos, in addition to his fifteen pesos, and that a like sum be granted to the commandants of forts when they have a captain of infantry." Felipe II, clause of letter, Madrid, June 11, 1594; Felipe IV, Madrid, January 30, 1631; lib. iii, tit. v, ley iii.

gious, and the money proceeding from the investments and merchandise.[228]

After the establishment of a regular camp for guard and expeditions, the other inhabitants, dwellers, and residents were enrolled without pay under the banners of six captains of the Filipinas, for special occasions requiring the defense of the city. But they were relieved of all other duties pertaining to the troops, unless they should offer of their own accord to go upon any expedition, or volunteer for any special occasion, in order to acquire merits and benefits, so that they may be given encomiendas that become vacant, and offices, and the means of profit of the country. They are not compelled or obliged to do this, unless they are encomenderos. Consequently all have given themselves to trading, as there is no

[228] A definite law, as is shown in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iii. tit. iv, ley xiii, charged the viceroys of Nueva España to send help to the Philippines. The law is as follows: "We charge and order the viceroys of Nueva España to aid the governor and captain-general of Filipinas on all occasions that arise, with very special care, promptness, and diligence, with whatever the latter shall request; and with the men, arms, ammunition, and money, that he deems necessary for the conservation of those islands, salaries [the original is *sueldos*, perhaps a misprint for *suelos*, signifying 'provinces' or 'districts'], presidios, and whatever else is under his charge." Felipe III, Aranjuez, May 25, 1607.

The two following laws impose certain restrictions on the reenforcements sent to the Philippines from Nueva España:

"One of the captains who shall raise men in Nueva España as reënforcements for the Filipinas Islands, shall act as their agent to the port of Acapulco. There he shall deliver them to the general, or commander of the ships about to sail; but no captain shall take passage or go to the islands with the men of his company." Felipe III, Zamora, February 16, 1602; lib. iii, tit. iv, ley xvi.

"Among the men sent by the viceroy, who shall go as a reenforcement from Nueva España to Filipinas, he shall not allow, under any circumstances, or admit, any mestizos or mulattoes, because of the annoyances that have been experienced from them." Felipe III, Valladolid, August 30, 1608; lib. iii, tit. iv, ley xv.

other occupation, but they are not unmindful of military service.

His Majesty prohibits all who are in his pay in the military forces of the islands from engaging in commerce; and orders the governor not to allow this, or permit them to export goods to Nueva España. If the governors would observe that order, it would not be amiss.[229]

The merchants and business men form the bulk of the residents of the islands, because of the great amount of merchandise brought there – outside of native products – from China, Japon, Maluco, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, Borneo, and other districts. They invest in this merchandise and export it annually in the vessels that sail to Nueva España, and at times to Japon, where great profits are made from raw silk. Thence on the return to Manila are brought the proceeds, which hitherto have resulted in large and splendid profits.

Through the very great increase of this trade – which was harmful and prejudicial to the Spanish merchants who shipped goods to Peru and Nueva España, and to the royal duties collected on the shipments from España – and through the business men of Mexico and Peru having become greedy of trade and commerce with the Filipinas, by means of their agents and factors, so that the trade with España was ceasing in great measure, and the merchants were sending to the Filipinas for their investments great consignments of silver, which by that means flowed yearly from his Majesty's kingdoms, to fall into the possession of infidels: all persons of Nueva España

[229] See *ante*, note 227, the citation of the law from *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iii, tit. x, ley xiii.

and Peru were prohibited from trading and engaging in commerce in the Filipinas, and from taking the Chinese merchandise to those regions.[230] Permission was given to the inhabitants and residents of the Filipinas that they alone might trade in the said merchandise, and export it. They are to take these goods themselves, or send them with persons who belong to the islands, so that they may sell them. From the proceeds of the said merchandise, they may not carry to the Filipinas more than five hundred thousand pesos each year.[231]

A considerable number of *somas* and junks (which are large vessels) generally come from Great China to Manila, laden with merchandise. Every year thirty or even forty ships are wont to come, and although they do not come together, in the form of a trading and war fleet, still they do come in groups with the monsoon and settled weather, which is generally at the new moon in March. They belong to the provinces of Canton, Chincheo, and Ucheo

[230] See VOL. XII ("Various documents relating to commerce"), pp. 57-75.

Bañuelos y Carrillo, in his relation to the king, says: "That the inhabitants of the Manilas should be allowed to export as many boat-loads as possible of the country's produce – such as wax, gold, perfumes, ivory, and cotton cloth [*lampotes*] – which they must buy from the natives of the country, who would thus be hindered from selling them to the Dutch. In this way we would make those peoples friendly, and supply Nueva España with their merchandise; and the money taken to Manila would not leave that city. . . . Your Majesty should consider that one and one-half millions in gold go to China annually." This commerce was advantageous to the Celestial empire alone and to certain individuals of Manila. It was fatal to España, and harmful to the islands, whose industry was gradually perishing like that of the metropolis.– RIZAL.

[231] See in VOL. VIII, pp. 316-318, a royal decree enforcing these prohibitions under severe penalties.

[Fo-Kien], and sail from those provinces. They make their voyage to the city of Manila in fifteen or twenty days, sell their merchandise, and return in good season, before the vendavals set in – the end of May and a few days of June – in order not to endanger their voyage.

These vessels come laden with merchandise, and bring wealthy merchants who own the ships, and servants and factors of other merchants who remain in China. They leave China with the permission and license of the Chinese viceroys and mandarins. The merchandise that they generally bring and sell to the Spaniards consists of raw silk in bundles, of the fineness of two strands [*dos cabeças*], and other silk of poorer quality; fine untwisted silk, white and of all colors, wound in small skeins; quantities of velvets, some plain, and some embroidered in all sorts of figures, colors, and fashions – others with body of gold, and embroidered with gold; woven stuffs and brocades, of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and patterns; quantities of gold and silver thread in skeins over thread and silk – but the glitter of all the gold and silver is false, and only on paper; damasks, satins, taffetans, *gorvaranes, picotes*,[232] and other cloths of all colors, some finer and better than others; a quantity of linen made from grass, called *lençesuelo* [handkerchief];[233] and white

[232] Coarse stuff made of goat's hair, or a glossy silk stuff; probably the latter is intended in the text. *Gorvoran* or *gorgoran* is a sort of silk grogram.

[233] This fabric is now called Piña. It is made from threads stripped from fibers of the leaf of that plant or fruit, and which are never longer than half a yard. It cannot be woven at all times, as extreme heat or humidity affects the fiber. The machinery employed is of wood, unmixed with any metal, and of rude construction. This fabric is stronger than any other of equal fineness, and

cotton cloth of different kinds and qualities, for all uses. They also bring musk, benzoin, and ivory; many bed ornaments, hangings, coverlets, and tapestries of embroidered velvet; damask and gorvaran of different shades; tablecloths, cushions, and carpets; horse-trappings of the same stuff, and embroidered with glass beads and seed-pearls; also some pearls and rubies, sapphires and crystal-stones; metal basins, copper kettles, and other copper and cast-iron pots; quantities of all sorts of nails, sheet-iron, tin and lead; saltpetre and gunpowder. They supply the Spaniards with wheat flour; preserves made of orange, peach, *scorzonera*,[234] pear, nutmeg, and ginger, and other fruits of China; salt pork and other salt meats; live fowls of good breed, and very fine capons; quantities of green fruit, oranges of all kinds; excellent chestnuts, wal-

its color is unaffected by time or washing. The pieces are generally only 1½ feet wide: the price varies from 1s. 4d. to 2s. 6d. per yard. Piña of a yard wide is from six reals to a dollar (of eight reals) a yard. All the joinings of the threads are of knots made by the fingers. It is fabricated solely by native Indians in many parts of the Philippines, but especially in Ilo-Ilo. The use of this stuff is extensive, and the value is estimated at 500,000 dollars or £120,000; the value of the annual export of it to Europe for dresses, handkerchiefs, collars, scarfs, and wristbands, which are beautifully embroidered at Manila, is estimated at 20,000 dollars annually. (Mr. Consul Farren, January 21, 1851).— STANLEY.

In order to obtain the fiber of this plant, the fruit is first cut, so that the leaf may become as long and broad as possible. When the leaves are well developed they are torn off, and scraped with a sharp instrument to separate the fleshy part and leave the fiber; this is washed, dried in the sun, combed out, and classed in four grades according to its fineness. The cloth has a peculiar softness and delicacy; and it is said that that made formerly (one or two centuries ago) was much finer than that made now.

[234] *Scorzonera* is a genus of composite plants, of numerous species; the leaves or roots of many are used as vegetables or salads. *S. tuberosa* and other Eastern species have edible roots.

nuts, pears, and *chicueyes*[235] (both green and dried, a delicious fruit); quantities of fine thread of all kinds, needles, and knick-knacks; little boxes and writing-cases; beds, tables, chairs, and gilded benches, painted in many figures and patterns. They bring domestic buffaloes; geese that resemble swans; horses, some mules and asses; even caged birds, some of which talk, while others sing, and they make them play innumerable tricks. The Chinese furnish numberless other gewgaws and ornaments of little value and worth, which are esteemed among the Spaniards; besides a quantity of fine crockery of all kinds; *canganes*,[236] *sines*, and black and blue robes; *tacley*, which are beads of all kinds; strings of cornelians, and other beads and precious stones of all colors; pepper and other spices; and rarities – which, did I refer to them all, I would never finish, nor have sufficient paper for it.

As soon as the ship reaches the mouth of the bay of Manila, the watchman stationed at the island of Miraveles goes out to it in a light vessel. Having examined the ship, he puts a guard of two or three

[235] Delgado (*ut supra*) says that this fruit (*Diospyros kaki*, Linn.) was brought by the Chinese traders, and called *Xi-cu* in their language, whence is derived the word *chiquey*. It is a beautiful scarlet fruit, although there is another species of a yellow color. Both are sweet and pleasant to the taste. Some of the yellow variety were grown in the Visayas, but Delgado says the tree is not indigenous to the islands. The fruit is shaped like an acorn but is about as large as a lemon. The peel is soft and the interior like honey, and it contains several seeds. The tree is wide-spreading but not very tall. The leaves are small and almost round. *D. kaki* is the Chinese or Japanese persimmon; *D. virginiana* is the American persimmon. From other species is obtained the valuable wood called ebony.

[236] This must be the cloth and not the porcelain of Kaga, which even today is so highly esteemed.– Rizal.

soldiers on it, so that it may anchor upon the bar, near the city, and to see that no one shall disembark from the vessel, or anyone enter it from outside, until the vessel has been inspected. By the signal made with fire by the watchman from the said island, and the advice that he sends in all haste to the city – of what ship it is, whence it has come, what merchandise and people it brings – before the vessel has finished anchoring, the governor and the city generally know all about it.[237]

When the vessel has arrived and anchored, the royal officials go to inspect it and the register of the merchandise aboard it. At the same time the valuation of the cargo is made according to law, of what it is worth in Manila; for the vessel immediately pays three per cent on everything to his Majesty.[238] After the register has been inspected and the valuation made, then the merchandise is immediately unloaded by another official into champans, and taken

[237] With very slight differences, this custom and ceremony is continued to the present [1890].– RIZAL.

[238] "A three per cent duty was imposed in the Filipinas on merchandise, for the payment of the troops. We order that part of the law to be observed, but that pertaining to the other things paid from those duties to be repealed." Añover, August 9, 1589. (Ley xxii.)

"We ordain that the Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Borneans, and all other foreigners, who go to the ports of the Filipinas Islands, pay no duty on food, supplies, and materials that they take to those islands, and that this law be kept in the form in which it may have been introduced, and not otherwise." Añover, August 9, 1589. (Ley xxiv.)

"On the Chinese merchandise and that from other countries, shipped to Nueva España by way of Filipinas, an impost ad valorem tax of ten per cent shall be collected, based on their value in the ports and regions where the goods shall be discharged. This tax shall be imposed mildly according to the rule, and shall be a tax additional to that usually paid on departure both from the said Filipinas Islands and from the provinces of Nueva España, to any

to the Parián, or to other houses and magazines, outside of the city. There the goods are freely sold.

No Spaniard, Sangley, or other person is allowed to go to the ship to buy or trade merchandise, food, or anything else. Neither is it allowed, when the merchandise is ashore, to take it from them or buy it with force and violence; but the trade must be free, and the Sangleys can do what they like with their property.

The ordinary price of the silks (both raw and woven) and the cloths – which form the bulk of the cargo – is settled leisurely, and by persons who understand it, both on the part of the Spaniards and that of the Sangleys. The purchase price is paid in silver and reals, for the Sangleys do not want gold, or any other articles, and will not take other things to China. All the trading must be completed by the end of the month of May, or thereabout, in order that the Sangleys may return and the Spaniards have the goods ready to lade upon the vessels that go to Nueva España by the end of June. However, the larger dealers and those who have most money usually do their trading after that time, at lower rates, and keep the merchandise until the following year. Certain Sangleys remain in Manila with a portion of their merchandise for the same purpose, when they have not had a good sale for it, in order to go on selling it more leisurely. The Sangleys are very skilful

other places where they may and shall be taken." El Pardo, November 1, 1591. (Ley xxi.)

"We order that the duty of three per cent collected in the Filipinas Islands on the merchandise taken thither by the Chinese be increased by another three per cent." El Pardo, November 20, 1606. (Ley xxiii.)

The above laws are from *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. viii, tit. xv.

and intelligent traders, and of great coolness and moderation, in order to carry on their business better. They are ready to trust and accommodate freely whoever they know treats them fairly, and does not fail in his payments to them when these are due. On the other hand, as they are a people without religion or conscience, and so greedy, they commit innumerable frauds and deceits in their merchandise. The purchaser must watch them very closely, and know them, in order not to be cheated by them. The purchasers, however, acquit themselves by their poor payments and the debts that they incur; and both sides generally keep the judges and Audiencia quite busy.

Some Japanese and Portuguese merchantmen also come every year from the port of Nangasaque in Japon, at the end of October with the north winds, and at the end of March. They enter and anchor at Manila in the same way. The bulk of their cargo is excellent wheat-flour for the provisioning of Manila, and highly prized salt meats. They also bring some fine woven silk goods of mixed colors; beautiful and finely-decorated screens done in oil and gilt; all kinds of cutlery; many suits of armor, spears, catans, and other weapons, all finely wrought; writing-cases, boxes and small cases of wood, japanned and curiously marked; other pretty gewgaws; excellent fresh pears; barrels and casks of good salt tunny; cages of sweet-voiced larks, called *fimbaros*; and other trifles. In this trading, some purchases are also made, without royal duties being collected from those vessels. The bulk of the merchandise is used in the country, but some goods are exported to Nueva España. The price is generally paid in reals, al-

though they are not so greedy for them as the Chinese, for there is silver in Japon. They generally bring a quantity of it as merchandise in plates, and it is sold at moderate rates.

These vessels return to Japon at the season of the vendavals, during the months of June and July. They carry from Manila their purchases, which are composed of raw Chinese silk, gold, deerskin, and brazil-wood for their dyes. They take honey, manufactured wax, palm and Castilian wine, civet-cats, large tibors in which to store their tea, glass, cloth, and other curiosities from España.

Some Portuguese vessels sail to Manila annually during the monsoon of the vendavals, from Maluco, Malaca, and India. They take merchandise consisting of spices – cloves, cinnamon, and pepper; slaves, both blacks and Cafres; cotton cloth of all sorts, fine muslins [*caniquies*], linens, gauzes, *rambuties*, and other delicate and precious cloths; amber, and ivory; cloths edged with *pita*,[239] for use as bed-covers; hangings, and rich counterpanes from Vengala [Bengal], Cochin, and other countries; many gilt articles and curiosities; jewels of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, balas-rubies, and other precious stones, both set and loose; many trinkets and ornaments from India; wine, raisins, and almonds; delicious preserves, and other fruits brought from Portugal and prepared in Goa; carpets and tapestries from Persia and Turquia, made

[239] The agave (*Agave americana*; the *maguey* of Mexico) is found in the Philippines, and is called *pita*, but Delgado and Blanco think that it was not indigenous there. Its fibers were used in former times for making the native textile called *nipis*, manufactured in the Visayas. As used in the text, *pita* means, apparently, some braid or other ornament of agave fibers.

of fine silks and wools; beds, writing-cases, parlor-chairs, and other finely-gilded furniture, made in Macao; needle-work in colors and in white, of chain-lace and royal point lace, and other fancy-work of great beauty and perfection. Purchases of all the above are made in Manila, and paid in reals and gold. The vessels return in January with the brisas, which is their favorable monsoon. They carry to Maluco provisions of rice and wine, crockery-ware, and other wares needed there; while to Malaca they take only the gold or money, besides a few special trinkets and curiosities from España, and emeralds. The royal duties are not collected from these vessels.

A few smaller vessels also sail from Borneo, during the vendavals. They belong to the natives of that island, and return during the first part of the brisas. They enter the river of Manila and sell their cargoes in their vessels. These consist of fine and well-made palm-mats, a few slaves for the natives, sago – a certain food of theirs prepared from the pith of palms – and tibors; large and small jars, glazed black and very fine, which are of great service and use; and excellent camphor, which is produced on that island. Although beautiful diamonds are found on the opposite coast, they are not taken to Manila by those vessels, for the Portuguese of Malaca trade for them on that coast. These articles from Borneo are bought more largely by the natives than by the Spaniards. The articles taken back by the Borneans are provisions of wine and rice, cotton cloth, and other wares of the islands, which are wanting in Borneo.

Very seldom a few vessels sail to Manila from Sian and Camboja. They carry some benzoin, pep-

per, ivory, and cotton cloth; rubies and sapphires, badly cut and set; a few slaves; rhinoceros horns, and the hides, hoofs, and teeth of this animal; and other goods. In return they take the wares found in Manila. Their coming and return is between the brisas and the vendavals, during the months of April, May, and June.

In these classes of merchandise, and in the products of the islands – namely, gold, cotton cloth, mendriñaque, and cakes of white and yellow wax – do the Spaniards effect their purchases, investments, and exports for Nueva España. They make these as is most suitable for each person, and lade them on the vessels that are to make the voyage. They value and register these goods, for they pay into the royal treasury of Manila, before the voyage, the two per cent royal duties on exports, besides the freight charges of the vessel, which amount to forty Castilian ducados [240] per tonelada. This latter is paid at the port of Acapulco in Nueva España, into the royal treasury of the said port, in addition to the ten per cent duties for entrance and first sale in Nueva España.[241]

Inasmuch as the ships which are despatched with the said merchandise are at his Majesty's account, and other ships cannot be sent, there is generally too small a place in the cargo for all the purchases. For that reason the governor divides the cargo-room among all the shippers, according to their wealth

[240] The ducado of Castilla was worth slightly more than two pesos.– RIZAL.

[241] These imposts and fetters, which the products of the country did not escape, are still [1890] in force, so that foreign markets must be sought, since the markets of the mother-country offer no greater advantages. According to a document of 1640, this commerce netted the government 350,000 pesos annually.– RIZAL.

and merits, after they have been examined by intelligent men, appointed for that purpose. Consequently every man knows from his share how much he can export, and only that amount is received in the vessel; and careful and exact account is taken of it. Trustworthy persons are appointed who are present at the lading; and space is left for the provisions and passengers that are to go in the vessels. When the ships are laden and ready to sail, they are delivered to the general and the officials who have them in charge. Then they start on their voyage at the end of the month of June, with the first vendavals.

This trade and commerce is so great and profitable, and easy to control – for it only lasts three months in the year, from the time of the arrival of the ships with their merchandise, until those vessels that go to Nueva España take that merchandise – that the Spaniards do not apply themselves to, or engage in, any other industry. Consequently, there is no husbandry or field-labor worthy of consideration. Neither do the Spaniards work the gold mines or placers, which are numerous. They do not engage in many other industries that they could turn to with great profit, if the Chinese trade should fail them. That trade has been very hurtful and prejudicial in this respect, as well as for the occupations and farm industries in which the natives used to engage. Now the latter are abandoning and forgetting those labors. Besides, there is the great harm and loss resulting from the immense amount of silver that passes annually by this way [of the trade], into the possession of infidels, which can never, by any way, return into the possession of the Spaniards.

His Majesty's agents for the government and jus-

tice, and the royal officials for the management of his Majesty's revenue, are as follows: First, the governor and captain-general of all the islands, who is at the same time president of the royal Audiencia of Manila. He has a salary of eight thousand pesos de minas per year for all his offices.[242] He possesses his own body-guard of twelve halberdiers, whose captain receives three hundred pesos per year. The governor alone provides and regulates all that pertains to war and government, with the advice of the auditors of the Audiencia in difficult matters. He tries in the first instance the criminal cases of the regular soldiers, and any appeals from his decisions go to the Audiencia.[243] The governor appoints many alcaldes-mayor, corregidors, deputies, and other magistrates, throughout the islands and their provinces, for carrying on the government and justice, and for military matters. These appointments are made before a government chief scrivener appointed by his Majesty, who helps the governor.

[242] The salary is now [1890] 40,000 pesos.– RIZAL.

[243] *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. iv, tit. i, ley v) outlines the governor's and Audiencia's power in regard to conquests by private individuals, as follows: "We grant permission to the governor and president of the Filipinas Islands and its Audiencia to make contracts for new explorations and conquests [*pacificaciones*] with persons, who are willing to covenant to do it at their own expense and not that of our royal treasury; and to give them the titles of captains and masters-of-camp, but not those of adelantados [*i.e.*, governors] and marshals. Those contracts and agreements such men may execute, with the concurrence of the Audiencia, until we approve them, provided that they observe the laws enacted for war, conquest, and exploration, so straitly, that for any negligence, the terms of their contract will be observed, and those who exceed the contract shall incur the penalties imposed; also provided the parties shall receive our confirmation within a brief period assigned by the governor." Felipe II, Guadalupe, April 1, 1580; Toledo, May 25, 1596, a clause of instructions.

The governor likewise takes part with the royal Audiencia, as its president, in whatever pertains to its duties. The Audiencia consists of four auditors and one fiscal – each of whom receives an annual salary of two thousand pesos de minas [244] – one reporter, one court scrivener, one alguacil-mayor, with his assistants, one governor of the prison of the court, one chancellor, one registrar, two bailiffs, one chaplain and sacristan, one executioner, attorneys, and receivers. The Audiencia tries all causes, civil and criminal, taken to it from all the provinces of its district.[245] These include the Filipinas Islands and the mainland of China, already discovered or to be discovered. The Audiencia has the same authority as the chancillerías of Valladolid and Granada in España. At the same time, the Audiencia provides whatever is advisable for the proper and systematic management of the royal exchequer.

His Majesty's revenues in the Filipinas Islands are in charge of and their tribunal consists of three royal officials. They are appointed by his Majesty, and consist of a factor, an accountant, and a treasurer. They each receive an annual salary of five hundred and ten thousand maravedis. They have their clerk of mines, and registrars of the royal revenues, and their executive and other officials, all of whom re-

[244] There are eight auditors now [1890], and their salary has increased to 4,700 pesos, while that of the fiscal is 5,500 pesos.– RIZAL.

[245] *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. v, tit. xv, ley xxviii, contains the following on suits arising from residencias, dated Lerma, June 23, 1608: "Suits brought during the residencia against governors, captains-general, presidents, auditors, and fiscals of our Audiencia of Manila, and against any other officials, both civil and criminal, shall pass in appeal and be concluded in that Audiencia, if they do not exceed one thousand pesos of the current money."

side in Manila. From that city they manage and attend to everything pertaining to the royal revenues throughout the islands.

His Majesty has a number of encomiendas apportioned to his royal crown throughout the provinces of the Filipinas Islands. The tributes of those encomiendas are collected for his royal treasury by his royal officials and the collectors engaged for that purpose by the royal officials. From year to year these amount to thirty thousand pesos, after deducting costs and expenses. They collect, from one year to another, eight thousand pesos in tributes from the Sangleys – both Christians and infidels.[246]

They also collect the fifth of all gold dug in the islands. By special concession for a limited period, the tenth is collected instead of the fifth. There is a declaration concerning it, to the effect that the natives shall pay no fifths or other duties on the jewels and gold inherited by them from their ancestors before his Majesty owned the country. Sufficient measures have been taken for the clear understanding of this concession and its investigation, for that on which the tenth has once been paid, and the steps to be taken in the matter. From one year to another they collect ten thousand pesos from these fifths, for much is concealed.[247]

[246] The tributes of the Indians in the Filipinas amount to more than 4,000,000 pesos now [1890]; and from the Chinese are derived 225,000 pesos.– RIZAL.

[247] Now since there is no exploitation of gold mines, and since the Indians have no jewels that would justify this tenth or fifth, the Spaniards substitute for this the imposts upon property, which amount to 105,400 pesos, and that upon industry, which amounts to 1,433,200 pesos. In 1640, the revenue from the above source [fifths or tenths] had decreased so greatly, that only 750 pesos were collected annually.– RIZAL.

The assignment of two reals from each tributario inures to the royal treasury and is paid into it, for the pay of the soldiers and the stipend of the prebendaries. These are collected from the encomenderos, in proportion to, and on the account of, their tributes, and amount annually to thirty-four thousand pesos.

The fines and expenses of justice are committed to the care of the treasurer of the royal revenues, and are kept in the treasury. They amount annually to three thousand pesos.

The three per cent duties on the Chinese merchandise of the Sangley vessels average forty thousand pesos annually.[248]

The two per cent duties paid by the Spaniards for exporting merchandise to Nueva España amount annually to twenty thousand pesos. On the merchandise and money sent from Nueva España to the Filipinas, result eight thousand pesos more. Consequently, in these things and in other dues of less importance that belong to the royal treasury, his Majesty receives about one hundred and fifty thousand pesos, or thereabout, annually in the Filipinas.[249]

Inasmuch as this amount does not suffice for the expenses that are incurred, the royal treasury of Nueva España sends annually to that of the Filipinas, in addition to the above revenues, some assistance in money – a greater or less sum, as necessity requires. For his Majesty has thus provided for it from the proceeds of the ten per cent duties on the Chinese merchandise that are collected at the port of Aca-

[248] Import duties now [1890] amount to 1,700,000 pesos.– RIZAL.

[249] Export duties now [1890] amount to 285,000 pesos.– RIZAL.

pulco in Nueva España. This assistance is given into the keeping of the royal officials in Manila, and they take charge of it, with the rest of the revenues that they manage and collect.

From all this gross sum of his Majesty's revenue, the salaries of the governor and royal Audiencia are paid, as well as the stipends of prelates and ecclesiastical prebendaries, the salaries of the magistrates, and of the royal officials and their assistants; the pay of all the military officers and regular soldiers; his Majesty's share of the stipends for instruction, and the building of churches and their ornaments; the concessions and gratifications that he has allowed to certain monasteries, and private persons; the building of large vessels for the navigation to Nueva España, and of galleys and other vessels for the defense of the islands; expenses for gunpowder and ammunition; the casting of artillery, and its care; the expense arising for expeditions and individual undertakings in the islands, and in their defense; that of navigations to, and negotiations with, the kingdoms in their vicinity, which are quite common and necessary. Consequently, since his Majesty's revenues in these islands are so limited, and his expenses so great, the royal treasury falls short, and suffers poverty and need.[250]

The proceeds from the ten per cent duties and the freight charges of the ships, which are collected at Acapulco in Nueva España, on the merchandise sent

[250] According to Hernando de los Rios, the Filipinas Islands could have been self-sustaining from the beginning from their own products, had it not been for the expeditions and adventurous conquests in the Moluccas, Camboja, etc. . . . In the governorship of Don Juan de Silva, the treasury owed, for the war in the Moluccas, more than 2,000,000 pesos to the Indians, besides what it must have owed to the inhabitants of Manila.– RIZAL.

View of Acapulco Harbor, in Mexico; from Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724)

[*From copy in library of Wisconsin State Historical Society*]

there from the Filipinas, although considerable, are also not always sufficient for the expenses incurred in Nueva España with the ships, soldiers, ammunition, and other supplies sent annually to the Filipinas. These expenses are generally greatly in excess of those duties, and the amount is made up from the royal treasury of Mexico. Consequently, the king our sovereign derives as yet no profit from any revenues of the Filipinas, but rather an expenditure, by no means small, from his revenues in Nueva España. He sustains the Filipinas only for the christianization and conversion of the natives, and for the hopes of greater fruits in other kingdoms and provinces of Asia, which are expected through this gateway, at God's good pleasure.

Every year the Audiencia audits the accounts of the royal officials of his Majesty's revenues, strikes the balances, and sends the accounts to the tribunal of accounts in Mexico.[251]

[251] This excellent custom has entirely perished.– RIZAL.

"The president of our royal Audiencia of Filipinas and one auditor of that body, shall, at the beginning of each year, examine the accounts of our royal officials, and shall finish their examination within the two months of January and February. On finishing their examination they shall send a copy of them to our council for the reason contained in the following law. Should the examination not be finished in the said time, our officials shall receive no salary. The auditor who shall assist in examining the accounts shall receive as a compensation the twenty-five thousand maravedis that are ordained; but he shall receive that amount only in that year that he shall send the said accounts concluded to our council." Ordinance 97, Toledo, May 15, 1596. (Ley ix.)

"For the accounts of our royal treasury, which must be furnished in the usual form by our officials of the Filipinas Islands annually, during the administration of their duties, the officials shall deliver for inventory all the books and orders pertaining to those accounts, and all that shall be requested from them and that shall be necessary. They shall continue the course of their administration [of their duties] with new and similar books.

In the city of Manila, and in all those Spanish settlements of the islands, reside Sangleys, who have come from Great China, besides the merchants. They have appointed settlements and are engaged in various trades, and go to the islands for their livelihood. Some possess their pariáns and shops. Some engage in fishing and farming among the natives, throughout the country; and go from one island to another to trade, in large or small champans.[252]

The annual vessels from Great China bring these Sangleys in great numbers, especially to the city of Manila, for the sake of the profits that are gained from their fares. As there is a superabundance of population in China, and the wages and profits there are little, they regard as of importance whatever they get in the Filipinas.

Very great annoyances result from this; for, not only can there be little security to the country with so many infidels, but the Sangleys are a wicked and

These accounts shall be concluded before the governor of those islands, and the auditor whom the Audiencia and the fiscal of that body may appoint. In case of the finding of any doubts and remarks it is our will that the auditor and governor resolve and determine them, so that they may be concluded and finished. And inasmuch as the factor and overseer must give account of certain things in kind and products of great weight and tediousness, we order that that account be examined every three years, and that the concluding and settling of the doubts and remarks shall be made in the form declared. And we order that when the said accounts of the said islands are completed and the net balances struck, they shall be sent to our Council of the Indias, so that the accountants of its accounts may revise and make additions to them according to the manner of the accountancy." Valladolid, January 25, 1605. (Ley x.)

The above two laws are taken from *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. viii, tit. xxix.

[252] The Chinese engaged in agriculture and fishing now [1890] are very few.– RIZAL.

vicious race. Through intercourse and communication with them, the natives improve little in Christianity and morals. And since they come in such numbers and are so great eaters, they raise the price of provisions, and consume them.

It is true that the city could not be maintained or preserved without these Sangleys; for they are the mechanics in all trades, and are excellent workmen and work for suitable prices. But a less number of them would suffice for this, and would avoid the inconvenience of so many people as are usually in Manila when the ships arrive – to say nothing of the many Chinese who go about among the islands, under pretext of trading with the natives, and there commit innumerable crimes and offenses. At the least, they explore all the country, the rivers, creeks, and ports, and know them better than the Spaniards do; and they will be of great harm and injury in case of any revolt or hostile invasion of the islands.

In order to remedy all the above, it was ordered that the vessels should not bring so many people of this kind, under penalties that are executed; that, when the vessels return to China, they take these Sangleys back with them; that only a convenient number of merchants remain in Manila, in the Parián, and the mechanics of all necessary trades; and that these must have written license, under severe penalties. In the execution of this, an auditor of the Audiencia is engaged by special commission every year, together with some assistants. On petition of the city cabildo, he usually allows as many Sangleys to remain as are necessary for the service of all trades and occupations. The rest are embarked and compelled to return in the vessels going to China, and a

great deal of force and violence [253] is necessary to accomplish it.

Those merchants and artisans who remained in Manila before the revolt of the year six hundred and three had settled the Parián and its shops. The Parián is a large enclosed alcaicería of many streets, at some distance from the city walls. It is near the river, and its location is called San Graviel. There they have their own governor, who has his tribunal and prison, and his assistants; these administer justice to them, and watch them day and night, so that they may live in security, and not commit disorders.

Those who cannot find room in this Parián live opposite, on the other side of the river, where Tondo is, in two settlements called Baybay and Minondoc. They are in charge of the alcalde-mayor of Tondo, and under the ministry of the religious of St. Dominic, who labor for their conversion, and for that purpose have learned the Chinese language.

The Dominicans have two monasteries with the requisite assistants, and a good hospital for the treatment of Sangleys. In a district kept separate from the infidels, they have a settlement of baptized Sangleys, with their wives, households, and families, numbering five hundred inhabitants; and the religious are continually baptizing others and settling them in that village. But few of them turn out well, for they are a vile and restless race, with many vices and bad customs. Their having become Christians is not through the desire or wish for salvation, but for the temporal conveniences that they have there, and because some are unable to return to China because of debts incurred and crimes committed there.

[253] The Rizal edition misprints *fuerça è premio* as *fuerza á premio*.

Each and all, both Christians and infidels, go unarmed and in their national garb. This consists of long garments with wide sleeves, made of blue cangan (but white for mourning, while the chief men wear them of black and colored silks); wide drawers of the same material; half hose of felt; very broad shoes, according to their fashion, made of blue silk embroidered with braid – with several soles, well-sewed – and of other stuffs. Their hair is long and very black, and they take good care of it. They do it up on the head in a high knot,[254] under a very close-fitting hood or coif of horsehair, which reaches to the middle of the forehead. They wear above all a high round cap made of the same horsehair, in different fashions, by which their different occupations, and each man's rank, are distinguished. The Christians differ only in that they cut their hair short, and wear hats, as do the Spaniards.

They are a light-complexioned people and tall of body. They have scant beards, are very stout-limbed, and of great strength. They are excellent workmen, and skilful in all arts and trades. They are phlegmatic, of little courage, treacherous and cruel when opportunity offers, and very covetous. They are heavy eaters of all kinds of meat, fish, and fruits; but they drink sparingly, and then of hot beverages.

They have a governor of their own race, a Christian, who has his officials and assistants. He hears their cases in affairs of justice, in their domestic and business affairs. Appeals from him go to the alcalde-mayor of Tondo or of the Parián, and from all these to the Audiencia, which also gives especial attention to this nation, and whatever pertains to it.

[254] The custom of shaving the head, now prevalent among the Chinese, was imposed upon them by their Tartar conquerors.

No Sangley can live or own a house outside these settlements of the Parián, and of Baybay and Minondoc. Native settlements are not allowed in Sangley settlements, or even near them. No Sangley can go among the islands, or as much as two leguas from the city, without special permission. Much less can he remain in the city at night, after the gates are shut, under penalty of death.

There are generally some Japanese, both Christian and infidel, in Manila. These are left by the vessels from Japon, although they are not so numerous as the Chinese. They have their special settlement and location outside the city, between the Sangley Parián and the suburb of Laguio, near the monastery of La Candelaria. There they are directed by discalced religious of St. Francis, by means of interpreters whom the fathers keep for that purpose. They are a spirited race, of good disposition, and brave. They wear their own costume, namely, kimonos of colored silks and cotton, reaching half way down the leg, and open in front; wide, short drawers; close-fitting half-boots of leather,[255] and shoes like sandals, with the soles of well-woven straw. They go bare-headed, and shave the top of the head as far back as the crown. Their back hair is long, and fastened upon the skull in a graceful knot. They carry their catans, large and small, in the belt. They have scant beards, and are a race of noble bearing and behavior. They employ many ceremonies and courtesies, and attach much importance to honor and social standing. They are resolute in any necessity or danger.

Those who become Christians prove very good, and are very devout and observant in their religion;

[255] A kind of stocking called *tabi*.– RIZAL.

for only the desire for salvation incites them to adopt our religion, so that there are many Christians in Japon. Accordingly they return freely, and without opposition, to their own country. At most there are about five hundred Japanese of this nation in Manila, for they do not go to other parts of the islands, and such is their disposition that they return to Japon, and do not tarry in the islands; consequently very few of them usually remain in the islands. They are treated very cordially, as they are a race that demand good treatment, and it is advisable to do so for the friendly relations between the islands and Japon.[256]

Few people come from the other nations – Sian, Camboja, Borneo, Patan, and other islands – outside our government; and they immediately return in their vessels. Consequently, there is nothing special to be said of them, except that care is exercised in receiving and despatching them well, and seeing that they return quickly to their own countries.

Since I have told, in the short time at my disposal, the characteristics of the Filipinas Islands, and their customs and practices, it will not be inappropriate to discuss the navigation to them since it is made thither from Nueva España; the return voyage, which is not short, or without great dangers and hardships; and that made in the eastern direction.

When the islands were conquered in the year of

[256] The following law was issued at Segovia July 4, 1609, and appears in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iii, tit. iv, ley xviii: "The governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands shall ever strive to maintain friendly relations, peace, and quiet, with the emperor of Japon. He shall avail himself, for that purpose, of the most prudent and advisable means, as long as conditions permit; and he shall not risk the reputation of our arms and state in those seas and among oriental nations."

one thousand five hundred and seventy-four [*sic; sc.* 1564], the Spanish fleet sailed under command of the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, from Puerto de la Navidad [257] situated in the South Sea, on the coast of Nueva España, in the province and district of Xalisco and Galicia, where resides the royal Audiencia of Guadalajara. A few later voyages were made also from the same port, until the point for the sending of these vessels was removed, for better and greater convenience, to the port of Acapulco, located farther south on the same coast, in sixteen and one-half degrees of latitude; it is eighty leguas from Mexico, and in its district. It is an excellent port, sheltered from all weather; and has a good entrance and good anchorages. Its vicinity is advantageous, being better provisioned and more populous than that of La Navidad. There a large Spanish colony has been established, with its alcalde-mayor, and royal officials who have charge of his Majesty's treasury; and these attend to the despatch of the vessels.

The vessels that sail to the Filipinas, as they are despatched annually on his Majesty's account, must necessarily leave in the certain season of the brisas, which begin in the month of November and last until the end of March. This navigation should not be made at any other season, for from June the vendavals blow, and they are contrary to the voyage.

As a rule, these ships sail and are despatched at the end of February, or at the latest by the twentieth of March. They sail west toward the islands of

[257] This port (established before 1540) was in Colima, Mexico, near the present Manzanillo. It was plundered and burned by the English adventurer Thomas Candish, on August 24-25, 1587.

Las Velas,[258] otherwise called the Ladrones. The island of Guan, one of them, lies in thirteen degrees of latitude. Inasmuch as the vessels on leaving Acapulco are wont sometimes to encounter calms, they sail south from sixteen and one-half degrees, in which the port is situated, until they strike the brisas, which is generally at ten or eleven degrees. By this route they sail continually before the wind, and without changing the sails, with fresh and fair brisas, and in other moderate weather, for one thousand eight hundred leguas, without sighting any mainland or island. Then leaving to the south the Barbudos and other islands, and advancing gradually to a latitude of thirteen degrees, they sail until they sight the island of Guan; and above it, in fourteen degrees, that of La Çarpana [Seypan]. This voyage to those Ladrones Islands lasts generally seventy days.

The natives of those islands, who go naked, and are a very robust and barbarous race, go out to sea to meet the ships as soon as they discover them, at a distance of four to six leguas, with many vessels; these are one-masted, and are very slender and light. These vessels have a counterpoise of bamboo to leeward, and their sails are made of palm-leaves and are lateen-sails. Two or three men go in each one with oars and paddles. They carry loads of flying-fish, dorados,[259] cocoa-nuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, bamboos full of water, and certain mats; and when they reach the ships, they trade these for iron from

[258] Thus named because seamen and voyagers noticed especially the lateen sails of the light vessels used by the natives of the Marianas.– RIZAL.

[259] A marine fish (*Sparus auratus*), thus named because it has spots of golden-yellow color.

the hoops of casks, and bundles of nails, which they use in their industries, and in the building of their ships. Since some Spaniards and religious have lived among them, because of Spanish ships being wrecked or obliged to take refuge there, they come more freely to our ships and enter them.

Our ships sail between the two islands of Guan and Çarpana toward the Filipinas and the cape of Espiritu Santo, a distance of three hundred leguas farther on, in the latitude of about thirteen degrees. This distance is made in ten or twelve days with the brisas; but it may happen, if the ships sail somewhat late, that they encounter vendavals, which endanger their navigation, and they enter the islands after great trouble and stormy weather.

From the cape of Espiritu Santo, the ships enter the strait of Capul at the islands of Mazbate and Burias; thence they sail to Marinduque and the coast of Calilaya, the strait of Mindoro, the shoals of Tuley, and the mouth of Manila Bay. Thence, they go to the port of Cabit. This is a voyage of one hundred leguas from the entrance to the islands and is made in one week. This is the end of the voyage, which is good and generally without storms, if made in the proper time.

These vessels now make the return voyage from the Filipinas to Nueva España with great difficulty and danger, for the course is a long one and there are many storms and various temperatures. The ships depart, on this account, very well supplied with provisions, and suitably equipped. Each one sails alone, hoisting as much sail as possible, and one does not wait for the other, nor do they sight one another during the voyage.

They leave the bay and port of Cabit at the first setting-in of the vendavals, between the same islands and by the same straits, by the twentieth of June and later. As they set out amid showers, and are among islands, they sail with difficulty until they leave the channel at Capul. Once in the open sea, they catch the vendaval, and voyage east, making more progress when they reach the latitude of fourteen or fifteen degrees.

Then the brisa starts. This wind is the ordinary one in the South Sea, especially in low latitudes. Since it is a head wind, the course is changed, and the bow is pointed betwen the north and east, as much as the wind will allow. With this they reach a higher latitude, and the ship is kept in this course until the vendaval returns. Then, by means of it, the ship again takes an eastern course in that latitude where it happens to be, and keeps that direction as long as that wind lasts. When the vendaval dies, the ship takes the best course that the winds allow, by the winds then blowing between north and east. If the wind is so contrary that it is north or northwest, so that the ship cannot take that course, the other course is taken so that they may continue to maintain their voyage without losing time. At four hundred leguas from the islands they sight certain volcanoes and ridges of the islands of Ladrones, which run north as far as twenty-four degrees.[260] Among these they generally encounter severe storms and whirl-

[260] A chart of the Indian Ocean, by L. S. de la Rochette (pub. London, 1803, by W. Faden, geographer to the king) shows three volcanoes in about 25° north latitude, and but a few degrees north of the Ladrones. One of them is called "La Desconocida, or Third Volcano," and the following is added: "The Manilla ships always try to make this Volcano."

winds. At thirty-four degrees is the cape of Sestos,[261] at the northern head of Japon, six hundred leguas from the Filipinas. They sail among other islands, which are rarely seen, in thirty-eight degrees, encountering the same dangers and storms, and in a cold climate, in the neighborhood of the islands Rica de Oro [" rich in gold "] and Rica de Plata [" rich in silver "], which are but seldom seen.[262] After passing them the sea and open expanse of water is immense, and the ship can run free in any weather. This gulf is traversed for many leguas with such winds as are encountered, until a latitude of forty-two degrees is reached, toward the coast of Nueva España. They seek the winds that generally prevail at so high a latitude, which are usually northwest. After a long voyage the coast of Nueva España is sighted, and from Cape Mendoçino (which lies in forty-two and one-half degrees) the coast extends nine hundred leguas to the port of Acapulco, which lies in sixteen and one-half degrees.

When the ships near the coast, which they generally sight betwen forty and thirty-six degrees, the cold is very severe, and the people suffer and die. Three hundred leguas before reaching land, signs of it are seen, by certain *aguas malas*,[263] as large as the

[261] A group of islands called Shidsi To, lying in 34° 20′.– RIZAL.

[262] " Thirty-eight degrees " is probably an error for " twenty-eight degrees," and these islands [the first ones mentioned in the above sentence] would be the Mounin-Sima Islands, lying between 26° 35′ and 27° 45′; and Lot's Wife in 29° 51′, and Crespo, in 32° 46′, which [latter] are supposed by the *Univers Pittoresque* to be the Roca de Oro [rock of gold] and the Roca de Plata of the ancient maps.– STANLEY.

For these latter islands, see VOL. XIV, p. 272, note 45.

[263] A fungous substance that grows in the sea, and contains signs of life.

hand, round and violet colored, with a crest in the middle like a lateen sail, which are called *caravelas* [" caravels "]. This sign lasts until the ship is one hundred leguas from land; and then are discovered certain fish, with half the body in the form of a dog;[264] these frolic with one another near the ship. After these *perrillos* [" little dogs "] are seen the *porras* [" knobsticks "], which are certain very long, hollow shoots of a yellow herb with a ball at the top, and which float on the water. At thirty leguas from the coast are seen many great bunches of grass which are carried down to the sea by the great rivers of the country. These grasses are called *balsas* [" rafts or floats "]. Also many perrillos are seen, and, in turn, all the various signs. Then the coast is discovered, and it is very high and clear land. Without losing sight of land, the ship coasts along it with the northwest, north-northwest, and north winds, which generally prevail on that coast, blowing by day toward the land, and by night toward the sea again. With the decrease of the latitude and the entrance into a warm climate the island of Cenizas [ashes] is seen, and afterward that of Cedros [cedars]. Thence one sails until the cape of San Lucas is sighted, which is the entrance of [the gulf of] California. From that one traverses the eighty leguas intervening to the islands of Las Marias and the cape of Corrientes [" currents "], which is on the other side of California in Val de Vanderas [" valley of banners "], and the provinces of Chametla. Thence one passes the coast of Colima, Sacatul, Los Motines [" the mutinies "], and Ciguatanejo, and enters the port of Acapulco – without having

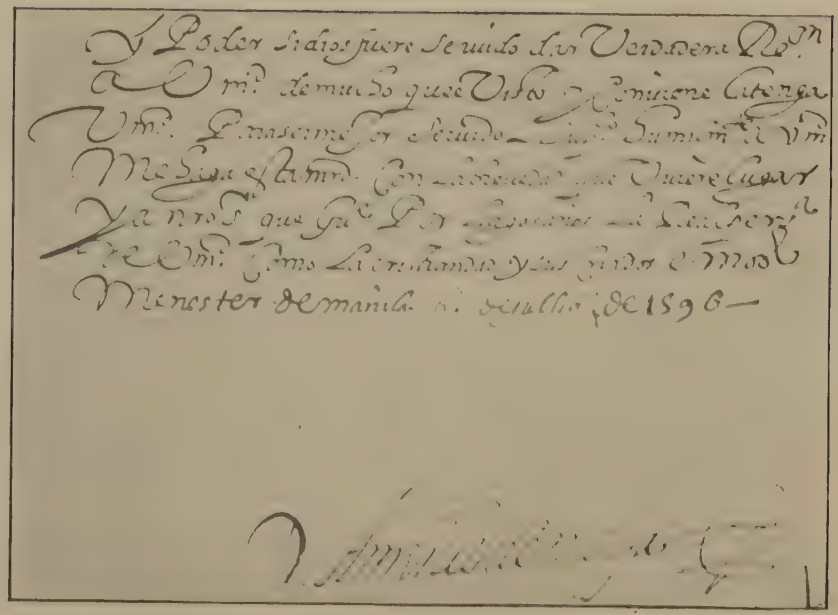
[264] Probably the dogfish, a species of shark.

made a way-station or touched land from the channel of Capul in the Filipinas throughout the voyage. The voyage usually lasts five months or thereabout, but often six and even more.[265]

By way of India, one may sail from the Filipinas to España, by making the voyage to Malaca, and thence to Cochin and Goa, a distance of one thousand two hundred leguas. This voyage must be made with the brisas. From Goa one sails by way of India to the cape of Buena Esperança [Good Hope], and to the Terceras [*i.e.*, Azores] Islands, and thence to Portugal and the port of Lisboa. This is a very long and dangerous voyage, as is experienced by the Portuguese who make it every year. From India they usually send letters and despatches to España by way of the Bermejo [" Red "] Sea, by means of Indians. These send them through Arabia to Alexandria, and thence by sea to Venecia [Venice] and thence to España.

A galleon bound for Portugal sails and is despatched from the fort of Malaca, in certain years, by the open sea, without touching at India or on its coasts. It reaches Lisboa much more quickly than do the Goa vessels. It generally sails on the fifth of January, and does not leave later than that; nor

[265] Most of these places can be identified on the old maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and most of the names are retained today. The island of Cedros is shown on a map of 1556 (Ramusio: *Vniversale della parte del mondo nvovamente ritrovata*). The island of Cenizas is shown, on the old maps, in about 32°, and Cedros in about 29°. The Marias or Tres Marias Islands are Maria Madre, Maria Magdalena, and Maria Cleofas. Cape Corrientes is south of La Valle de Banderas and Chametla. Socatul is called Socatula and Zocatula. An English map of 1626, engraved by Abraham Goos, shows the town of Ciguatlan, north of Aquapulco, which may be the same as Morga's Ciguatanejo. Los Motines cannot be identified.



Signature of Antonio de Morga

[*From MS. in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

does it usually anticipate that date. However, not any of these voyages are practiced by the Castilians – who are prohibited from making them – except the one made by way of Nueva España, both going and coming, as above described. And although the effort has been made, no better or shorter course has been found by way of the South Sea.[266]

*Laus Deo*

[266] Acosta in his *History of the Indies* (Hakluyt Soc. edition, London, 1880) says of the courses between the Philippines and New Spain: "The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South sea, going from New Spaine or Peru to the Philippines or China, and returning from the Philippines or China to New Spaine, the which is easie, for that they saile alwaies from East to West neere the line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their poope. In the yeere 1584, there went a shippe from Callao in Lima to the Philippines, which sailed 2000 and 700 leagues without sight of land, and the first it discovered was the Iland of Lusson, where they tooke port, having performed their voiage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually vnder the line; . . . The returne is like vnto the voiage from the Indies vnto Spaine, for those which returne from the Philippines or China to Mexico, to the end they may recover the Westerne windes, they mount a great height, vntill they come right against the Ilands of Iappon, and, discovering the Caliphornes, they returne by the coast of New Spaine to the port of Acapulco."

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